



KANGURA



N° 43

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW

JUIN -1993



NGEZE Hassan asezereye ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi muri Afurika yo hagati.

BUYOYA ashobora gutoza abandi demokarasi.

GAPYISI: tuzatahura abamwishe Minisitiri w'Intebe naduha ubushobozi.

Umugore wa **BIZIMANA** arakwaka mu batega ibisasu ku Gisenyi.



**GISENYI : NSENGIYAREMYE ADATABAYE VUBA
KOMANDA BIZIMANA YASHOZA IZINDIMVURURU
ZAGWAMO BENSHI.**

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za nkabo. Muri demokarasi hose ku isi hari ihameridahinduka. Nicyobita "la loi de la majorité". Kugira ngo inyenzi nazo zumve icyo bivugaga tubishyire mu rurimi rw'icyongereza. Aho zizi icyo bita "Majority rule"? Iryo niryio shingirorwaga demokarasi nyayo. Kandi demokarasi ni imwe ku isi yose. Ntihazagire rero ubeshya rubanda ari nako yibeshya, ngo hari "démocratie à la burundaise", demokarasi ndundi. Na HABYARIMANA nawe yari yari-fatiye abantu yarababohye mu byo yise "demokarasi resiponsabule". Iryo hame ry'uko rubanda nyamwinshi ariyo igomba gutsinda riremewe hose ku isi. Ahubwo cyane cyane mu bihugu byiyita ko bigendera kuri demokarasi by'i Burayi no muri Amerika ya ruguru. Umpakanya ambwire niba nko muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika umwirabura azapfa abaye Perezida wa Repubulika. Birashoboka ariko birakomeye. Impamvu nta yindi, si ukwanga abirabura. Impamvu ni uko muri icyo gihugu abirabura ari bake ugereranyije n'abazungu bahari.

Abakurikiranira hafi amatora aherutse kuba mu Burundi, batubwira impamvu zatumye BUYOYA atsinde. Baremeza ko BUYOYA n'ubwo yari umwicanyi, yazize cyane cyane UPRONA n'abatutsi. Radiyo "Deutsche Velle" y'Ubudage niyo yabivuze neza igira iti: "NDADAYE ntiyatsinze BUYOYA, yatsinze UPRONA n'abatutsi". Kandi koko ugasanga ari byo. UPRONA yakozwe amarorerwa menshi ku buryo abarundi, abahutu mbere na mbere yari yarabavuye ku mutima.

Kuba rero umukandida w'ishyamba nk'iryo ni ukwiyahura. Niwo mutego BUYOYA yaguyemo. Aramaze ariko kuko uwiye ataririrwa kandi inyenzi zose ni zimwe. Si MICOMBERO, si BAGAZA, si BUYOYA bese ubugome ni bumwe. BUYOYA twamubwiye kenshi ukuri ku byabereye mu gihugu cye. Aho kwikosora agakomeza kunangira umutima. Aka wamutima muhanano wabuze gihana. BUYOYA aho kwikosora yataga igihe cye ahiga abanyamakuru ba KANGURA ngo barasabota ubutegetsi bwe. Ukuri kwa KANGURA kwari kwashajije BUYOYA ku buryo nta nama y'abaminisitiri yateranaga itavuze KANGURA. Kuri Radiyo na Televiziyo y'u Burundi bikaba uko. Mu nama iherutse ya CEPGL, BUYOYA wagira ngo yari yasaze. Yikoreye umu-ba wa KANGURA n°37 ngo aje kuye-

reka Perezida w'u Rwanda. HABYARIMANA nawe rero ntacyo wamubeshya, yamuhaye "pole" ariko amwumvisha ko itangazamakuru mu Rwanda ryigenga. Ko nawe ritamurebera izuba icyo bibaye ngombwa. BUYOYA afata KANGURA azibangira ingata asubira i Bujumbura. Nyuma yaje kugambana n'icyitso cye NSENGIYAREMYE (nawe ntaraye), umuyobozi wa KANGURA arafatwa arafungwa. Ntiyatinzemo ariko kuko ibyo bamuregaga nta shingiro byari bifite.

BUYOYA ntiyatinze kubona ko yibeshye. Twamubwiye kenshi ko amatora ye ya huti huti atazamusiga amahoro. None se umutego mutindi ntiwica nyirawo? BUYOYA twagerageje kumwumvisha ko abarundi bahu-mutse, batakiri ibicucu. Yibeshye ko KANGURA itareba kure. Urwishigishye rero ararusoma. Amatora BUYOYA yiteguriye niyo amukozeho. Uretse ko nta kundi nyine byari ku-

genda. BUYOYA yasetse BAGAZA ngo azize amadini cyane cyane kiliziya gatolika yakomeje gutoteza. We twavugaga ko azize iki? Tuvuze ko azize ukuri kwa KANGURA ntitwaba twibeshye. BUYOYA nagende twaramuburiye!

Mu nimeru ya KANGURA n°38 ku gifuniko hari igushushanyo cyerekana umuyobozi wa KANGURA aha BUYOYA umuti wa Demokarasi, anamuburira ko azawunywa ku ngufu. BUYOYA yabanje kuwanga none yarawunyweye burundu abishaka abashaka. Muri icyo nimeru kandi hari inyandiko igira iti: "BUYOYA w'umututsi na NGEZE w'umuhutu hazatsinda nde?". Hatsinze nde? BUYOYA wenyine niwe wasubiza icyo kibazo. Hari icyo tutamubwiye? Hari aho twamuhishe? Ntazaturenganye.

KANGURA

UKO AMATORA YAGENZE MU BURUNDI

	FRODEBU - NDADAYE Melchior	UPRONA - BUYOYA Pierre
Mairie	44,72%	53,06%
BUJUMBURA RURAL	77,98%	20,08%
GITEGA	63,94%	33,91%
NGOZI	67,27%	29,33%
KAYANZA	61,82%	32,52%
BURURI	53,56%	45,53%
BUBANZA	84,15%	14,23%
CIBITOKE	84,87%	13,21%
RUTANA	58,31%	41 %
RUYIGI	70,06%	29,12%
CANKUZO	30,54%	66,04%
KARUZI	69,20%	26,69%
KIRUNDO	76,65%	21,59%
MURAMVYA	50,92%	47,19%
MAKAMBA	62,28%	35,98%
MUYINGA	67,51%	28,30%
ETRANGER	16,93%	80,66%
TOTAL	64,79%	32,47%
SOIT	1.486.785 Voix	SOIT 745.079 Voix

AFURIKA IZATEGEKWE N'INYESHYAMBA !

Umugabane w'Afurika ni umwe mu migabane y'isi babarira mu migabane ikiri inyuma mu majyambere «Tiers Monde». Muri icyo migabane harimo umugabane w'Aziya ndetse n'Amerika y'amajyepfo. Amajyambere si ukugira inganda n'amafaranga gusa. Amajyambere agaragarira no mu bitekerezo. Ibi-hugu bibarirwa mu bikiri inyuma mu majyambere «Tiers Monde» byakunze kwibasirwa n'amakuba y'ubwoko bwose. Iyo atari amapfa, aba ari umwuzure, cyangwa se ikirunga kikagira gutya kikivumbura kikamena umuriro wacyo ugahitana imbaga y'abantu.

Amakuba akunze kugwirira ibihugu byo muri «Tiers Monde» ni intambara z'urudaca akenshi ziba zishingiye ku moko, ku ture-re, ku idini....

Ingero ni nyinshi : Liberiya, Somaliya, Cadi, Libani, Etiyopiya, Sudani, Yugosavaliya tutibagiwe n'u Rwanda. Abantu bakarwana ntacyo bapfa kigaragara. Bakaziyunga nyuma igihugu barakigize umuyonga, abantu barapfuye barashize, abahungu barahunze. Cyangwa se intambara ikarangira ari uko habonetse utsinze.

Ubundi mu mategeko mpuzamahanga nta muntu n'umwe ufite uburenganzira bwo gufata intwari ngo ahirike ubutegetsi buriho, abaturage bishyiriyeho. Niyo wowe waba utabwishimiye. Wabwamagana mu bitekerezo, mu manama mpuzamahanga ariko nta burenganzira na bumwe umuntu uwo ari we wese afite bwo kubuvanaho ku ngufu. Niyo bwaba ari ubw'igitugu, dore ko ntawe usimbuza igitugu ikindi gitugu. Muri Afurika, icyo ndwara yabaye icyorezo. Umuntu wese ufite inyota y'ubutegetsi ajya mu ishyamba. Abenshi barahirwa, abandi amahirwe akababana make. Iyo babuze uko babigira biyoberanya mu matora.

Ingero sizo zibuze. Gusa turafata zimwe muri zo zitugaragariza neza ko muri Afurika, kwigira ikigomeke aribyo bigezweho. Iya kurisha ihera ku rugo.

Mbere y'uko inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, mu Rwanda hariho ubutegetsi. Yego Perezida Habyarimana yagiye aho akaze «coup d'Etat» mu w'1973, ariko sibyo byari kuba intandaro y'igitero cyo mu Kwakira 1990. Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana n'ubwo bwose atari shyashya, bwari bumaze kumenyerwa, abaturage barabuyobotse. Nawe ubwe yakoresheje amatora, aratorwa n'ubwo bwose ari we wari umukandida wenyine kuri uwo mwanya. Mwavugaga muti nta demokarasi yari iriho kuko abanyarwanda twese yari yarabwoye muri MRND. Ibyo ari byo byose sibyo inyenzi zari kwitwaza ngo zifate imbunda zishoye intambara mu gihugu cyigenga, gifite amategeko kigenderaho.

nangira ngo keretse ariwe utegetse byanze bikunze. Yabigezeho kandi ntashaka kurekura. Demokarasi yashyaga ko aharanira ubu si we ufata icya mbere mu kuyiniga ?

Muri Angola, umugabo Jonas Savimbi Perezida wa UNITA agiye kumara hafi imyaka 18 ari mu ishyamba. Mu myaka ya mbere na mbere, icyo Jonas Savimbi yarwaniraga cyarumvikanaga. Uwo mugabo ari mu baharaniye ubwigenge bw'igihugu cye cyari mu bukoronize bw'abanyeportugali. Ariko ikitumvikana ni ukuntu Savimbi yasaba amatora, ayo matora akaba. Yamara kumenya ko yatsinze akongera agafata intwari intambara ikubura. Ubwo ngo aharanira kubohozwa abaturage ba Angola. Nyamara bigaragara ko



Iyayakurikiyeho murabizi. Inyenzi zimaze kubona ko zitagifashye igihugu mu minsi itatu nk'uko zabiteganyaga, zacishije bugufi. Ubu zirajijisha mu mishyikirano zinizera kuzahatana mu matora. Uretse ko ku nyenzi mbona bikomeye gutsinda amatora kurusha intambara y'amasasu.

Muri Uganda, inyeshyamba za Museveni nazo niko zabigenje. Museveni amaze gutsindwa amatora mu w'1982, yahisemo gufata icy'ishyamba, abeshya ko bamwibye amajwi. Icyo Museveni yahaniraga si uko demokarasi yagera muri Uganda. Icyo yari yimirije imbere ni ugufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Dore ko bigeze no kumuhendahenda ngo abe Visi-Perezida wa Uganda aka-

Savimbi yishakira ubutegetsi bwa wenyine. N'abanyamerika bamushyigikiye icyo myaka yose bamaze kumutahura.

Izo ngero uko ari eshatu ziragaragaza ko inyeshyamba zisigaye zarahawe intebe muri Afurika. Kandi akenshi nta cyo zirwanira kigaragara uretse urugomo. Kandi aho tugeze ubu si igihe cyo gutegeke sha iterabwoba. Iryo terabwoba niryo inyenzi zisigaye zikangisha mu mishyikirano. Paul Kagame ngo nizitsindwa mu matora zizasubira mu ishyamba. Tito Rutaremara we ngo inyenzi nizitabona 50 ku ijana by'abasirikari ngo zizarwana ! Mwumve namwe.

BA OFISIYE BACU BARAKOTANA

Nyuma y'uko dusohora KANGURA No 42, twabagejejeho ukuntu hari aba ofisiye bariye ama Kotanyi ngo bagambanire urwaturubaye. Twabagejejeho ukuntu hari ba ofisiye baha misiyo yo guteranya abanyamakuru ba Kangura n'inzege z'ubutegetsi. Kangura ikimara gusohoka twaje guhagarurwa kuri telefoni n'umu Koloneri utarashatse ko tumuvugaga amazina maze atubwira ko Komanda Bizimana yasanze yarakoze amarorerwa menshi, akaba abona Kangura niyangaza bizamugwa nabi. Nibwo yihimbiye umugambi wo gusebanya. Ubwo akora telegramu za buri munsu abwira inzege zo hejuru ko yatahuye inkuru nshya. Ngo yamenye ko NGEZE Hassan akorana n'inzenzi. Ibyo kugira ngo byemerwe telegramu zoherezwaga mu bigo byose bya gisirikari zemeza ko Kangura yaguzwe n'umwanzu: Ngo isopanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi maze inzenzi zidutera ariyo ziturutse.

Mwumve ubwo bwenge ra! Ese iyo aza gutekereza agahimba undi mugambi ku'u uwo udafite ishingiro!

Hari n'abamubajije gutanga ibindi bimenyetso arabibura, aya indimi ngo kuba twibanda ku kibazo cy'u Burundi ngo birahagije. Ese wakorera inzenzi ukanazihirika ku butegetsi nk'uko byagenze i Burundi? None se ko Kangura yaseze-reye ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi mu karere k'Afurika yo hagati noneho Bizimana azatanga izihe telegramu? Etat Major imaze kurambirwa n'amatiku ye yohereje telegramu hose mu Rwanda isaba ko NGEZE Hassan atazongera kwemererwa kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari. Ese ubundi hari itegeko nari narahawe ryo kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari kandi ntari we? Ni akumiro...!!! Arabura gutekereza icyo azakora amaze gusukwa hanze n'imishyikirano y'Arusha akirirwa aca amati-ku adafite ishingiro. Yagombye kumenya ko na Koloneri Rutayisire

Komanda Karangwa batanze telegramu nyinshi bemeza ko Kangura ikorana n'umwanzu ngo kuko ihirika ubutegetsi. Ngo kandi n'umwanzu akaba yifuza ko abategetsi bahikwa. Baje gusa baruhira ubuza. Kuko abategetsi barwanagaho bahiritswe na Kangura No 6. Rutayisire we yaje kugwa mu mutego kuko twaje kuvumbura ko arimo ahimba telegramu maze tumutanga i bukurumurega ko arimo gutegeza umugambi wo kuduhimbira. Maze yohereza ayo mahomvu twe twamutanze. Nyuma yaje kubimenya maze agira ikimwaro none ntanagitinyuka gukandagira aho yaduteranyaga! Uhangana na Kangura ntibimugwa neza ubihakana azabaze abahiritswe nayo cyangwa se abaze Buhinja Buyoya.

NGEZE Hassan.

(a)

NGEZE Hassan
Directeur du Journal
KANGURA
Conseiller du parti C.D.R

Kigali, le 1/06/1993

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika y'u Rwanda
KIGALI

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Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika,

Mbandikiye mbagezaho umugambi mubi w'ubwicanyi urimo gutegegurwa na Commandant Bizimana André ushinze kuyobora abajandarume bo ku Gisenyi.

Amavu n'amavuko y'ikibazo.

Commandant BIZIMANA akimara gushingwa kubungabunga umutekano w'abatuye ku Gisenyi, yanyuranije n'integano yari ashinzwe, yigira indakoreka. Yiyibagiza

ko u Rwanda rwinjiye mu mashyamba menshi, ariko, ariko, n'ibindi byinshi muzi. Abaturage bakunze kubibagezaho babasaba ko mwamuhagarika ku kazi agashyikirizwa ubucamanza.

Akigera ku Gisenyi yari avuye i Kigali aho yareguye kwica abantu akoresheje inkoni n'imipanga. Abikorera yitwaga ko ari we utegeka Fichier Central. Amadosiye y'abo yagize ibimuga, murayazi: Kuko bene kwicirwa bakunze kubibagezaho. Ubu yari umukozi usanzwe, utungwa n'umushahara we nk'abandi bose. Aho atakomereje aho, yihutiye kwiba akora ibinyuranije n'akazi ashinzwe maze Perefegitura ayigira umuyonga. Twe tubibonye, dusanga tutakomeza kwihanganira ayo marorerwa akorerwa mu karere dufitemo abayoboke 99 ku ijana by'abahatuye. Dukubitiyeho ko n'itangazamakuru twaharaniye ritwemerera guceceka ayo marorerwa nibwo twiyemeje gushyira ahagaragara ubwo busambo bwe n'ubwicanyi azwiho.

Muri Kangura No 42, twasobanuye ku buryo bugufi ukuntu Commandant Bizimana akora n'icyo abaturage bamutekerezeaho. Ubwo dushyiramo ilisiti y'abo yari kuzica mu biro bya Minisitiri w'Intebe. Commandant Bizimana abonye ko yatahuye nibwo yiyemeje gushyirisha umuyobozi wa Kangura NGEZE Hassan mu buroko ku mpamvu tugiye kubagezaho. Gusa, yiyibagiza ko abaturage bamushinje ko inzu yuzuye ku musozo wa Rubavu yayubatswe mu mafaranga avanye mu basahuzi. Abaturage bari bagiye kuyisenga kubera uburakari batwe no kudahindurwa kw'icyo gisambo: Kandi kibategesha igitugu. Uwo mugambi Commandant Bizimana yaje kuwuburizamo ari uko abimariye mbere.

Kuba abajandarume ashinzwe kuyobora bari bagiye kumwirasira ubwabo bamuziza kumukeka amababa we n'umugore we, biragaragaza ko ntawe unwifuzaga. Dore ko binavugwa ko umugore we yaba ari umututsikazi wange abahutu

urunuka. Twabajije Commandant Bizimana icyo umugore we yangira abahutu, atubeshya ko ibyo bivugwa ari ukubeshya ko ahubwo ari amakimbirane y'umugore we n'abo bakorana. Kuba abajandarume be bari bagiye kumwirasira ubwabo akarusimbuka, biragaragaza ko abo ateguka nabo batamwifuzza.

Ubu tubiyambaza, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, abaturage bamuciyeye mu mugwi wa Gisenyi, nta nzu agomba gukandagiramo kuko biyemeje kuzamukubitira mu muhanda we n'umugore we nibatimurwa bombi. Hakaba hari n'urwandiko rurimo gutegurwa ruzashyirwaho umukono n'abantu 4.000 berekana ko uwo muntu batamwifuzza. Urwo rwandiko rukazahabwa inzego zose zimushinzwe.

Turebe ibyerekeye ubwicanyi.

Mu gihe abasirikari bigabizaga ingo z'abaturage mu mugwi wa Gisenyi, hakoze ubwicanyi, ubushuzi, bikorwa n'abasirikari bazwi barimo na ba ofisiye bazwi, bahe-rekeje abo bayobora mu kwica, n'ubushuzi. Muri abo basirikari hari mu Commandant Bizimana André. icyababajwe abantu ni uko ari we wagombaga kurinda aho ashinzwe no kubaburira. Dore ko ikigo cya jandarumori ayobora kiri mu mugwi rwagati. Nyamara abaturage bababajwe n'ukuntu, umushyashyashyamba wo ku Gisenyi witwa Sekiden-de, yaje kubona Commandant Bizimana apakiza amasima, yamubaza ati mbese nawe Commandant urasahura, maze Bizimana akamutsinda aho. Ibyo byose aka kanya arabiyibagije. Ese abaturage bibagiye aba ofisiye bayoboye ibitero byabashyiraye? Ese uwabaza Bizimana aho yakuye amafaranga yubatsa igorofa kuri Rubavu yahasobanura? None se ayo yahembwe kuva yakora yavamo ayubatsa iyo nzu? Ese ubucuruzi bw'amatafari akorera kuri Goma hari utabuzi? Ibyo byose twabikoreye idosiye tuzabitangaza muri mitingiri no mu binyamakuru. Dore ko noneho Commandant Bizimana asigaye avugwaho kuba icyitso by'inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Nubwo we yivugira ko

icyangombwa ari inoti gusa: None se amafaranga siyo atuma we n'umugore we bicisha abanya Gisenyi?

Bite na KANGURA?

Commandant Bizimana amaze kubona ko iminsi mirongo ine kuri we iri hafi, yahisemo kuryambura uburenganzira mpabwa n'amategeko. Ubwo nahise nurega mu rukiko rw'iremezo rwa Gisenyi. Ubwo Perezida w'urukiko ikibazo agikemura akinyujije mu nama y'umutekano. Ibyemezo byafatiwe muri icyo nama mu gihe bitarajya mu bikorwa, yacuze undi mugambi wo gufungisha abanyamakuru ba Kangura. Yarangiza akohereza abantu babatsinda muri gereza bakoresheje uburozi nk'uko byagenze kuri mugenzi wacu Mutombo. Byananirana agashyiraho umuntu ngo abarase yitwaza ko bashakaga gutoroka.

bwo kubogamira inyungu za KANGURA. Ubwo yaje kumenya ko imodoka yagurishijwe noneho ahimba amayeri, avugaga ko yaguzwe mu mafaranga y'amibano. Twe turasaba ko amategeko igihugu cyacu kigenderaho yakubahirizwa. Itera bwoba rikajyana n'ubutegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe. Abasirikari bashyiraye bafashwe bagakorera amadosiye, uwa mbere yaba Commandant Bizimana André. Ibyo yasahuye biragaragara, nibyo byubatsa inzu afite kuri Rubavu.

Uwo musirikari wabuze akabazwa inzego zimushinzwe cyangwa umugore wa Commandant Bizimana. Ntihagire ufungwa binyuranyije n'amategeko. Ntihagire urenga amasaha 48 kuri burigade. Hagira ujya muri gereza ntiyahagire urenga iminsi itanu disoye itaragezwa mu rukiko.



Muri ubwo bugambanyi, Commandant Bizimana André aherutse kujya gukoresha impapuro zijyana Ngeze Hassan muri gereza maze akamukorera ibyo tumaze kuvuga haruguru: Dore uko yabigenje:

— Kangura yari itunze imodoka GB.24.53 maze tuyigurisha n'umusirikari aduha amafaranga "cash" twifuzaga. Tujya guhinduza ibyangombwa byayo ku mukazi wa Finance ku Gisenyi. Impapuro zimaze gukorwa ngo uwo musirikari yaba yari afitanye amabanga na mugore wa Commandant Bizimana maze baza guhemukirana. Maze uwo mu ofisiye aza kubura ku mpamvu zizwi nabamukoresha n'umugore wa Bizimana. Ubwo Bizimana yaje gufata icyo modoka arayifunga yibwira ko ari bwo buryo

Kandi umuntu akabazwa n'inzego zizirana n'iterabwoba. Naho kwitwaza ngo ikinyamakuru cyaramutahuye nawe ahitamo uburyo bwo guhiga abantu yitwaza akazi akora ntibihwitse. Ntibihuye n'igihe tugazemo. Ese ko namureze mu rukiko kuki atareka ngo tuburane? Ese kwirirana impapuro zihiga umuntu n'ahamye yabuze, aho yiyumvisha ingaruka byakurura abaturage baramutse bagaragaje uburakari bamufitiye? Ku byerekeye amakorera Commandant Bizimana yakoreye abanya Gisenyi, duhisemo kuzakoresha ingufu za politiki n'iz'abaturage mu gukemura icyo kibazo.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, tubiyambaze tubasaba gukurikiranira hafi icyo kibazo.

Mugire amahoro.

Uhagarariye KANGURA
NGEZE Hassan

Bimenyeshyejwe:

- Perezida w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Gisenyi.
- Gisenyi
- Procureur wa Repubulika Gisenyi
- Perefeyi wa Gisenyi Gisenyi
- Abasomyi ba Kangura (bose)
- Abiyemeje kuzafatira Bizimana André ibyemezo (bose)

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- Bujumbura (Mairie): ni kwa NTAKABA-NYURA Joseph ku Musaga.
- BUJUMBURA (Rural): ni kwa NYANDWI Dieudonné mw'i Sale
- GITEGA: ni kwa NTAHIMPERA Grégoire i Nyamugari
- CIBITOKE: ni kwa NDAYISENGA Jules mu Rugombo.
- KAYANZA: ni kwa NZOBONIMPA

André w'i Gatwaro
- MURAMVYA ni kwa KARIBWAMI Benoît mu Biganda
- BURURI: ni kwa KABURA Marcelle i Kirembo
- BUBANZA ni kwa HARIMENSHI Jean Marie ku Mwokora
- KIRUNDO ni kwa MACUMI Jonas mu Rusarari
- MUYINGA ni kwa BASOMINGERA François Xavier kw'i Taba
- CANKUZO: ni kwa MANARIYO i Mushisha
- RUYIGI: ni kwa BURARAME Antoine i Muyaga
- RUTANA: ni kwa SAKUBU Léonce i Nkoma
- MAKAMBA: ni kwa NTAKABURIMVO Martin i Nyabigina
- KARUZA: ni kwa BARUTWANAYO Emmanuel i Buhiga.

KANGURA irabarizwa no muri za mitingi zose z'amashyamba aharanira guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Gitutsi.

(b)

NGEZE Hassan
Journal KANGURA

Kigali, le 2.06.1993

Kuri Bwana Procureur,

Impamvu: Gusobanura.

Bwana Procureur

Mbandikiye mbasobanura ku bibazo bibogamiye ubuzima bwanjye, n'uburenganzira bwanjye muri rusange. Uyu munsu namenyeye ko mwakoze impapuro zo kunshakisha ngo mfatwe mfungwe. Ntaburanye ngo ibyo kuburana bizakorwe igihe muzabishakira. Ibyo nkaba nsanga bishobora guhungabanya umutekano mu karere ka Gisenyi namwe kandi mudasigaye kuko mugatuyemo, kandi mukaba ari naho mukorera.

Inkuru y'imvaho itugezeho ivuye mu bakozi mukorana iratwezeza ko umuyobozzi wa jandarumuri ku Gisenyi ngo yababajwe n'ibyo Kangura yamwinditseho maze aza kubasaba ko ntwamutera inkunga mukamu korera impapuro zimfunga. Ngo ibyo mwarabyemeye kuko impapuro zinshakira ubu zirahari. Gusa, icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki: Ko ntuye komini Rubavu, segiteri Gisenyi namwe mutuyemo kandi mukoreramo ko mutantunira

ngo mumbaze ibyo mwifuzaga, ahubwo mugakora impapuro zinshakisha nk'aho nabuze. Mwibuka ko nyewe ubwanjye naje mu biro byanyu mbagezaho ikibazo cyanyije na COMMANDANT BIZIMANA utagishakwaga n'abatuye ku Gisenyi kubera ubwicanyi yagiye abakoreye. Mbabwira ukuntu yanyambuye uburenganzira bwanjye, mbasobanurira ko icyo kibazo nagishyikirije Perezida w'urukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Gisenyi nawe yaje kugishyikiriza inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Twumvise ko impamvu Commandant BIZIMANA atanga avugaga ko ngo imodoka KANGURA yari itunze yayigurishije abasirikari bakuru bo mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Ese hari icyaha kirimo? Izo modoka ni Peugeot 504, plaques GB 2493 nagurishije umu Komanda na Toyota GB 2453 nagurishije umu Lieutenant. Abo basirikari bose akaba ari ingabo z'u Rwanda. Ese kubagurisha hari icyaha kirimo? Ko abo bose twaguye ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko, tugahinduzaga ibyangombwa uko amategeko abiteganyaga, Commandant BIZIMANA kwitwaza ko amafaranga baguze ayo imodoka yari amibano abona byamugeze kuki? Kuki abo basirikari atabikurikiranyiriza niba abifiteho uburenganzira?

Ese niba ashakaga gukurikira abasirikari bazwiho n'abaturage ko ari rikari bazwiho n'abaturage ko bibye, ni kuki atiharaho ngo yiko mu ba ofisiye basahuye ku Gisenyi umunsi Gisenyi isahurwa? Ese urupfu rwa SEKIDENDE yarashye amuziza ko yamumenye mu isahura rwo ntiruhagije ngo yishyikirize ubucamanza?

Ese niba ashakaga ko abasirikari basangiye ibyaha bakorerwaga dosiye, ni kuki adakora iza ba Ofisiye bazwi n'abaturage ku Gisenyi ko bibye bakica, bagasahura kandi nawe arimo? Nifuzaga ko mutatere ubwoba na Commandant ngo bitume mwica amategeko mubizi. Nimugezeze kubahiriza demokarasi niba hari ibyo mushakaga kutubaza mudutumeho, mukoreshe inzandiko zabigenewe tuzabitaba. Naho bitagenze gutyo byabyara izindi mvururu kandi abazikira ngirango ni bake.

Ku byerekeye ko Commandant BIZIMANA yandikwaga mu binyamakuru, turagirango tubibutse ko kugukangisha kudufunga ntacyo bidutwaye kuko burya icyo dufunzwe ariho dutsindira vuba ibyo duharanira. Inshuro ya 20 nafunzwe muri gereza na 35 nafunzwe muri kasho za burigade zatumye dutsindira ibyo twaharaniraga. Gusa tubasabye kuzatubwirira Commandant BIZIMANA ko demokarasi izirana n'iterabwoba kandi

ko muri demokarasi iyo ikinyamakuru cyakwanditse usabwe kunyura mu nzira zikurikira.

- gusubiza nk'uko biteganywa n'ama tegeko
- kurega n'uko biteganywa n'ama tegeko
- guceceka iyo ntacyo ushoboye
- kugura nimeru zose uba wasohotse iyo wifite

Ibyo byose naburamo kimwe akora nawe azakore icye kinyamakuru avugiramo. Umugambi wose tumaze kuwutahura twiyerereye guhangana n'itarabwoba ryose aho riva rikagera, kuko ntawe utsinda utsinda atarushye. icyo tubasaba ni uko mwa-

kurikiranira hafi icyo kibazo maze amategeko akubahirizwa. Iterabwoba rigasigarana abaryize.

Ubiyambaje

NGEZE Hassan

Bimenyeshejwe :

- Perezida wa Repubulika
- Minisitiri w'Intebe
- Perezida w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'iremezo rwo ku Gisenyi
- Abasomyi ba Kangura (bose)
- Abaturage bababajwe na Com-mandant BIZIMANA (bose)

(c)

DUFASHE GUVERINOMA GUTAHURA ABISHE GAPIYISI.

Ubwanditsi bwa Kangura
C/O Gisenyi - Information
B.P. 1312 Kigali

Kigali, le 2/06/1993

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe
KIGALI

Impamvu : Urupfu rwa GAPIYISI

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe

Nyuma y'uko abishe GAPIYISI Emmanuel anketi itarabatahura ngo bijye ahagaragara, mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru twifuzaga kubungana mu buryo bukurikira :

- GAPIYISI tumaze kumenya neza ko yishwe azize ibibazo bya politiki.
- Abishe GAPIYISI bari batumwe kandi baguriwe amafaranga.
- Abari bafite inyungu mu rupfu rwa GAPIYISI nabo bamaze kugaragara.
- Ibimenyetso umuntu yaheraho akoraga iperereza kuri urwo rupfu biraboneka.
- Inzego zose umuntu yakwifashisha nazo zirahari.
- Amagambo yaherekeje urupfu rwa GAPIYISI nayo abayavuze barahari.

Kubera ko ubushobozi bwacu bwanga bukabu buke, twasabaga ko mwadufasha mu kutwongerera ubushobozi (amikoro) maze tugakora

anketi zacu mu ibanga maze ibyo tuzageraho tukabishyikiriza inzego zibishinzwe mbere y'uko bishyikirizwa abasomyi.

Turamutse tubonye amikoro twakwifashisha abantu batandukanye bashakira amafaranga kugira ngo batubwire ibyo bari bazi ku bwicanyi n'ababukora. Bityo tukabonamo abishe GAPIYISI.

Gutahura abishe GAPIYISI birasaba ingendo nyinshi hirya no hino mu gihugu. Kwifashisha inzego zinyuranye, guhera ku butegetsi kuguruka ku baturage. Hanze hari abantu bakeneye amafaranga kugirango batangaze ibyo bari bazi. Abo bantu gukorana nabo bikaba bigoye kubera amikoro make yacu. Igihe cyose muzatwemerera kudutera inkunga muri urwo rwego tuzahita dutangira uwo murimo uturushye. Ku byerekeye abo tuzaba dukera ariko tudashobora kubegera; icyo gihe tuzabagezaho ibyo tubazihwe maze namwe mudufashe.

Mu gihe tugitegereje igisubizo cyanyu, twabamenyesha ko inzego zose zishinzwe umutekano zitwizera mukuduha ibyo tuzisabye maze tukabyongera kubyo ziba zifite.

Murakoze.

Uhagarariye Kangura
NGEZE Hassan

yamagana akarengane ka bene wabo bo mu Burundi.

Ugutsinda kwanyu Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika niko gutsinda kwa KANGURA, niko gutsinda kw'abahutu bose.

Mugire amahoro !

Bikorewe i Kigali

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 4/6/93
Uhagarariye KANGURA
NGEZE Hassan

NDADAYE YARI YATINYE KWIYAMAMARIZA UMWANYA WA PEREZIDA

Mu gihe cyo gutanga abakandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Burundi, Bwana NDADAYE yabanje kugira ubwoba. Yumvaga atahagarara imbere ya BUYOYA ngo bahangane. Ariko akizera ko mu bade-pite ishyakaye rizagira intebe nyinshi kurusha andi mashyaka. Nta wamenyaye niba yari yibagiwe ko abatora abadepite ari nabo batora Perezida wa Repubulika.

Ubuyobozi bwa PALIPEHUTU bukorera mu buhungiro bwamwumvishije ko ntacyo agomba gutinya, abamutara barahari kandi niba benshi. Bwanamwijeje ko buzakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo yereke BUYOYA igihandure kandi akazatorwa mu mucyo.

Abashinzwe kubahiriza umutekano babarebaga igitsure kugira ngo batore BUYOYA, bakirengagiza ko muri demokarasi imitundu y'urukwavu itabuzwa ishyamba gushyamba. Ngaho rero mwemwese mwatoye NDADAYE, hiyongereyeho n'abari bibeshye bagatoya BUYOYA, muzongere mutore FRODEBU muyihaye imyanya itubutse mu matora y'abadepite ateganyijwe tariki ya 29/06/1993.

Gutera umuyoboze wa FRODEBU ni ukwitateganyiriza kuko iryo shyamba ryimirije imbere ubutabera kurushya ya magambo y'ubumwe n'amahoro ahishye ubwicanyi mutayobewe. Mwibuke ko kuri BUYOYA, FRODEBU = Umu-hutu. Kandi mu gihe yiyamamazaga mu Cibitoke yabaye nkuvuye ngo abahutu batsinze bemeza ubumwe n'amahoro, bongera gutsindwa bemeza Itegeko Nshinga none bagiyeye kongera gutsindwa mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika. Tariki ya 1 Kamena mwamereye ko yibeshya. Na tariki 29 bizabwo uko.

N.T.

INYENZI ZO MURI GOMN BAZOROYEMO IKI ?

Impuruza yatanze mbere na mbere na mugenzi wacu «Kamarampaka» No 16 yo ku itariki ya 29 Mata 1993. Icyo kinyamakuru cyatugejejeho amarorerwa avanze n'agasuzuguro by'inyenzi ziri muri GOMN, wa mutwe w'abasirikari bavugaga ko udafite aho ubogamiye. Icyo kinyamakuru kiratumenyesha ko izo nyenzi ubu zibera muri hotel Méridien Umubano, umukozi usanzwe azigaburira yazizaniye ibyo kurya maze zireba ku mazuru zihita zibimutamika ku ngufu. Ngo nabirye, zimucomeka n'amacupa ku ngufu mu kanwa ngo nasomeho. Zirangije zimushyira imbunda ku gakanu. Zibonye bidahagije zimumenaho ibyo yari azizaniye.

«Kamarampaka» iratumenyesha kandi ko ku itariki ya 23 Mata 1993 ku Giti cy'inyoni, abasirikari bo muri GOMN bari mu modoka, bacunze imodoka ya SODEPARAL yari ivuye mu Ruhengeri bayitegamiye. Icyo gisasu bakijugunye mu muhanda barirukanka. Umushoferi wari utwaye iyo modoka ya SODEPARAL ahita ahagarara. Ku bw'amahirwe kiraturika cyangiza imodoka ariko abarimo bararokoka....

Tubivugaga ! Gushyira inyenzi muri GOMN byazihaye uburyo bwo gukora iterabwoba uko zishakiye. Uretse no kunekera inyenzi zene wazo, inyenzi zo muri GOMN zikomeje gukwiza iterabwoba hirya no hino mu gihugu. Ibisasu bimaze iminsi biturika hirya no hino mu gihugu nizo zibitega. Muribuka igisasu giherutse guturikira ku iposita kigakomeretsa abantu benshi. Icyo gisasu cyatezwe n'ikizungerezi cy'inshoreke y'inyenzi gikora aho ku iposita. Si ngombwa kwirirwa dutangaza izina rye ariko turarifite. Uwo mugore yateze icyo gisasu yararahye n'imwe mu nyenzi zo muri GOMN ziba muri Méridien. Inyenzi zimaze kwivugana Gapyisi Emmanuel zikomeje gutsemba imbaga y'abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Ejo bundi i Kirambo muri Superefegitura ya Rwesero muri Cyangugu inyenzi zateze igisasu mu isoko gihitana abantu 16, abandi bagera ku 130 barakomeretse.

Uretse ibyo bisasu inyenzi zo muri GOMN zikomeje gutege hirya no hino mu gihugu, ni nazo zisigaye zijyana uruburuko mu Nkotanyi. Abatutsi bashakira kuja mu nyenzi

muri iki gihe, inzira ni imwe. Ni ukunyura kuri GOMN bakabambutsa. Hari kandi amakuru yemeza ko inyenzi zo muri GOMN zisigaye zigira uruhare runini mu kwinjiza inyenzi zene wazo mu murwa mukuru Kigali. Ku buryo bibaye ngombwa zarasa, imirwano ikabera muri Kapitali. Vuba aha hari inyenzi zirenga 20 ziherutse gufatirwa i Kigali zambaye imyenda ya gisirikari n'imbunda. Gushyira inyenzi muri GOMN, byakuruye impaka nyinshi. Nta kuntu waba uhanganye n'umuntu ukurwanya, ugahindukira ukamucumbikira. Ariko nta kundi byari kugenda kuko GOMN atari twayishyizeho, yashyizweho n'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika. Icyo mbona Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yari ikwiye gukora ni ugucunga abo bantu, ikagenzura ibyo bakora. Bafatirwa mu cyaha ikaregera umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika.

Biti iyi se, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda igasezerera izo nyenzi nk'uko ishobora gusezerera umu «diplomate» uwo ari we wese ufashwe akora ibinyuranye n'akazi ashinzwe. Kandi ibifitiye uburenganzira.

KANGURA.

TURAMAMAZA

Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu bose bo mu turere twose, mu mashyamba yose, bo mu Rwanda, Burundi, Zaïre, riramenyesha abayoboke banyo ko amakarita yabyo agatangwa mu mpande zose ku buryo busanzwe. Ku byerekeye abasirikari bazasezererwa n'imishyikirano y'Arusha, amakarita yabo aracyatangwa mu mpande zose ku bahagarariye "Turi hose". Ubwiyunge bwacu nibwo buzatuma tugera kucyo dushaka. Nimugane «Turi hose» kuko ariyo mizero y'Abahutu ya nyuma.

Icyo "Forum Paix et Démocratie" ihuriyeho na "Turi hose" ni uko byose bihuriye ku ntego imwe. Usibye ko "Forum" itanga ibitekerezo igateganyira icyakorwa maze "Turi hose" igashyira mu bikorwa ibyananiranye. Ku byerekeye ibiranga ntego, ntibibateye ibibazo.

INYENZI ZIVUYEMO NK'INOPFU:

Bavugaga ibigoranye imihoro ikarakara... Ikinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» cyandikwa na rya huriho riharanira amahoro na demokarasi (Forum Paix et Démocratie), mu nimeru yacyo 000 yo muri Mata 1993 cyashyize ahagaragara imigambi mibi y'inyenzi. Inyandiko z'icyo kinyamakuru zakurugutuye abayoboke ba FPR uhurira ku bayobozi babo. Nibwo bahurutuye «umutumba» w'inyandiko ndende bagarageza kuyobya uburari ngo barasubiza icyo kinyamakuru cyandikwa n'intiti zizi neza ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Icyo kinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» kiratwibutsa ko inyenzi zaje zishakira gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu z'imbunda, igashyiraho ubutegetsi bw'igitugu.

Ureke ibyo babeshyera Habyarimana. Bityo inzira ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi igihugu cyacu cyari cyarahisemo ikagenda nka nyomberi. Icyo kinyamakuru kiramamaza kandi ubwicanyi hwiye inyenzi zatsembye kandi zikomeje gutsemba abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Zarangiza zikabeshya ko zizanye demokarasi, ziharanira ko u Rwanda rwaba igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, ngo zinubahiriza iki remwa muntu ! -Ikinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» gisoza gisaba abaturage kuba maso bagahangana n'inyenzi kuqira ngo zitazabagwaga ariko zikabasubiza mu bucuza.

Inyenzi zimaze kubona icyo indi zahise zivamo. Dore ko umunyeshuri. Uwiye Simon Ntare,

MBONAMPEKA Stanislas ATI: "FPR NIYO IDINDIZA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA".

Muri KANGURA y'ubushize (No 42) twababwiye ko hari inyandiko Nyakwigendera Gapyisi Emmanuel (atari yitaba imana) na Ibonampeka Stanislas batugejejeho. Abo bagabo bombi, mu nyandiko zabo, bemeza ko igihugu cyacu cyugarijwe n'ibibazo kitazivana mo niba buri munya rwanda adashyizeho ake. Muri nimero ya KANGURA iheruka twabagejejeho inyandiko ya Gapyisi Emmanuel agira ati : «Hapfa uwavutse». None Mbonampeka Stanislas aramwunganiye. Aratungira abanyarwanda akatoki abereka umwanzi wabo wa mbere. Ni inyenzi zibumbiye muri FPR zikomeje kudiindiza demokarasi twese duharanira.

KANGURA.

... Ibihugu bikize by'i Burundi ndetse no muri Amerika ya ruguru nabyo byahise bihindura politiki yabyo. Ibyo bihugu byari byashyigikiye ubwo butegetsi bw'ibitugu imyaka 30 yose, byategetse ko imfashanyo zabyo zajya zihabwa mbere na mbere ibihugu byitabiriyemo demokarasi. Disikuru Perezida w'u Bufaransa François Mitterand yavugiyemo i La Baule mu nama yari yahuje abakuru b'ibihugu bikoresheje ururimi rw'igifaransa muri Kamena 1990 niyo yakomye rutonderi. Muri uwo mwaka w'1990 n'ino mu Rwanda hari abantu benshi bagaragaje, haba mu nyandiko haba mu mvugo, ko bifuzaga ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi.

Ingero ni nyinshi :

— Inyandiko y'abantu bari bibumbiye mu itsinda ry'abaharanira demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi «Groupe des Démocrates Pluralistes» yo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 1990 yasabaga ko ishyamba rimwe rukumbi ryavaho, hakabaho impaka za kidemokarasi n'amatora yemera abakandida benshi.

— Inyandiko z'intiti 33 «Groupe des 33 intellectuels» yashyize ahagaragara ububi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi.

— Ibaruwa y'apepisiyokopi gaturika bandiye igihe Papa yari mu Rwanda.

Bityo, ubushake bwa rubanda, rushyigikiye n'amahanga bwokeje igitutu ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwemera politiki ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi. Aha twakwibutsa ko Habyarimana yari yanarikomoyeho muri disikuru ye yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1990. Tariki ya 21 Nzeri 1990, komisiyo ishinze gutegura amahame y'ubutegetsi yari kugenderaho ishyirwaho. Iyo komisiyo yari kurangiza akazi kayo mu Kuboza kw'uwo mwaka. Inkotanyi zaje kuba kidobya. Tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, inyenzi zigaba igitero. Nyuma y'ukwezi kumwe gusa, ingabo z'igihugu zishyigikiye n'abaturage, zanesheje inyenzi zizirenza umupaka.

Muri Mutarama 1991, inyenzi zigabiza umugi wa Ruhengeri ariko ingabo z'igihugu zizibera ibamba. Kuva muri Gashyantare 1991 kugeza tariki ya 2 Kamena 1992, inyenzi zagiyemo zigaba udutero shuma ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda. Ni muri icyo gihe inyenzi zatsindwaga umusubizo, politiki ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi yashyizwe mu bikorwa. Muri Kamena na Nyakanga 1991 ubwo hashyirwagaho itegeko nshya rishya ry'ubutegetsi ku wa 10 Kamena 1991 n'ivuka ry'amashyamba menshi.

Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwari bwariyanyije bwageze aho biba ngombwa ko burekura. Bitewe ahanini n'umyigiragambye ikaze yo mu gushyamba 1991 no muri Mutarama 1991 n'amahanga yakomeje kwotsa igitutu Habyarimana. Ni muri urwo rwego tariki ya 7 Mata 1992 hashyirizweho iriya Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho igizwe n'amashyamba ane ya politiki, Guverinoma iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe utavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana. Izo mbaraga abaturage batanze ngo demokarasi igere mu Rwanda ntizigomba gupfa ubusa. Intambwe twari tumaze gutera ntutugomba

kuyivutswa n'abantu bashakira kudu-subiza inyuma kubera inyungu zabo bwite.

Baba abakoreshe imbunda cyangwa se iterabwoba iryo ari ryo ryose kugira ngo bagere ku butegetsi cyangwa se kubugundira.

INYENZI ZIRARWANIRA UBUTEGETSI NTIZIHARANIRA DEMOKARASI

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, ntizari ziye-bewe ko abanyarwanda bari bafite ubushake bwo guhindura imitegekere yari iriho. Habyarimana nawe yari yarabyemeye muri Nyakanga 1990. icyumweru kimwe mbere y'uho inyenzi zitera mu Kwakira 1990, hari komisiyo yari imaze gushyirwaho igomba gutegura amahame ya politiki nshya u Rwanda rwari rugiyemo kugenderaho.

Kuba rero inyenzi zaragombye kugaba igitero icyo gihe, ntawazishirakira amakenga. Dore ko Habyarimana yari yemeye ku ngufu guhindura imitegekere ye. Intambura rero siyo twari dukeneye dore ko yangiza byinshi. Ari nacyo gituma ntawakwizera ibyo inyenzi zabeshye ngo zateye zishyamba demokarasi. Ahubwo umuntu yafata icyo gikorwa cya FPR nk'uburyo bwo kuburizamo iyo demokarasi. Bityo tugasubira mu bibazo by'amoko, n'uturere byari gutuma inyenzi zigera ku ntego yazo yo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu zikoresheje intwari. Demokarasi nyayo iboneka hakoreshejwe uburyo bwa demokarasi kandi abaturage ubwabo niba bayishakira. Inyenzi rero zigomba kwamaganwa bikomeye kuko zitatundiza mu nzira ya demokarasi twari twiyemeje. Ni ngombwa kumvisha FPR ko itazongera kurota yubura imirwano ku mpamvu izo ari zo zose.

Ingaruka z'igitero inyenzi zagabye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 ntizibarika :

- abaturage ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza bapfuye
- ibikorwa by'iterabwoba inyenzi zakozwe hirya no hino mu gihugu

U BUBILIGI BURI HAFI GUSEZERERWA MURI AFURIKA YO HAGATI

Ubutegetsi bwa cyami buragenda bucika ku isi. Haba mu bihugu, byakataje mu majyambere cyangwa se ibikiri mu nzira. Mu Burayi, aho ubwami busigaye ni hake cyane, keretse nko mu Bubiligi nyine bacyibutsimbarayeho. Muri Amerika urebye nta nahamwe muri Afurika naho aho ubwami busigaye harabaze. Aka karere k'Afurika yacu yo hagati kakunze kurangwa n'ingoma za cyami. Mu gihe cya gikolonize izo ngoma zaricaga zigakiza dore ko zari zishyigikiwe n'umuzungu witwaraga nka gashakabuhake. U Rwanda, u Burundi, Zaïre, twese twari ku ngoyi y'Umubiligi.

Rubanda nyamwinshi imaze kwipakurura ingoyi ya cyami mu myaka ya za mirongo itanu n'icyenda... mirongo itandatu... hagashyirwa Repubulika, ababiligi babyemeye batabyemeye. Muri Zayire, ababiligi batari bake barahaguye kubera kugundira banze kurekura. Bakomeza no guteza ibibazo Repubulika nshya yari imaze kuvuka, barayisahura biratinda. Byageze aho Perezida Mobutu afata icyemezo cyo gusezerera ababiligi. Mu Rwanda naho ababiligi bakomeje kutubeshya. Mu myaka ya mbere ya indepandansi, Ububiligi bwasaga n'ubushyigikiye revolisiyo ya rubanda rugufi rw'abahutu. Ariko iyo urebye neza usanga gushyigikiye iyo revolisiyo ari amaburakindi. Nta kuntu bari kubigenza kuko batari kuyisubiza inyuma. Na ONU yarananiwe nkwanse ababiligi. Kandi babonaga abahutu ntacyo babatwaye dore ko abatutsi aribo icyo gihe bashakaga ko ababiligi bahambira.

Mu Burundi ababiligi bakomeje gushyigikiye ingoma ya cyami kugeza muri za mirongo itandatu na gatanu igihe Micombero akora "Coup d'Etat" akavanaho umwami. Micombero urebye ntacyo yavuguruye kuko amarorerwa ubwami bwakoreraga abahutu yakomeje gukorwa muri "Repubulika ntutsi". Ababiligi bazize gukunda abatutsi.

Inshuti nyayo uyibona mu byago. Inyenzu zigabye igitero tariki

ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, twari twizeye ko ababiligi aribo ba mbere mu kudutabara. Dore ko aribo bitwa ko batugejeje ku bwigenge bamaze kudukoloniza imyaka igera kuri 48 yose! Kwari ukwibeshya kuko byagaragaye ko ababiligi bari ahubwo ku ruhande rw'inyenzi. Ababiligi nabo bifuzaga ko inyenzu zafata u Rwanda mu minsi itatu. Banakoze uko bashoboye ngo iyo ntego igerweho. Ububiligi bwafatiriye amasasu u Rwanda rwari rwaratumijeyo kandi yararishywe. Ibinyamakuru byaho ariko cyane cyane imiryango yitwa ko irengera ikiremamuntu birahiga mu gusebya u Rwanda. Ibyo binyamakuru n'iyi miryango birakotana ngo abatutsi bashize mu Rwanda, iyo Nsengiyaremye atongeyeho abagowe. Radiyo na Televiziyo yogeza inyenzu biratinda ngo ziri hafi kugera i Kigali.

Ububiligi bwanahise bugabanyira imfashanyo bwageneraga u Rwanda. Ndetse hamwe na hamwe nko mu rwego rwa gisirikari, barazihagarika burundu. Ububiligi bwanohereje abasirikari barwo bubeshya ko butabaye u Rwanda. Nyarara birazwi ko abo basirikari bari bafite ubutumwa bwo kurenge ibyitso by'inyenzi biramutse bikomeye. Umwanzi agucira akobo Imana igucira akanzu. Perezida wa Zayire, Mobutu Sese Seko aba arahagobotse, atwoherereza ingabo ze zunganira iz'u Rwanda, inyenzu zirakabona, zirapfa biratinda. Abafaransa n'ubwo batadukolonije babonye turengana basanga batadutere-rana. Bohereza ingabo zabo ngo zihagaze uwo ari we wese ushaka gushyigikiye u Rwanda mu bucakara. Ubufaransa buha u Rwanda intwari

zo kwirwanaho, buduhuza n'izindi nshuti. Inyenzu zimaze kubona ko imigambi yazo zitazayisohozza ziratangira zijundika abafaransa. Inyenzu zifatanije n'ababiligi zigerageza guhirika Mobutu ariko zisanga ahagaze bwuma, "blindé". Ikimwari kiba cyose.

Kubana n'Ububiligi ni nko kubana n'igare.

N'ujya uvuga ababiligi ujye ubaza Maréchal Mobutu niwe ubazi. Ababiligi amarorerwa bakoreye abazayirwa ntagira ingano. Icyo gihe bagishyigikiye kera ari nako bakigishyigikiye. Uko Zayire imaze muri iki gihe ni ukubera ababiligi bayizambije. Mu Rwanda natwe ababiligi turabamenyereye. Igihugu cyacu bari bagihaye inyenzu Imana ikinga ukuboko. Kandi ntawabashira amakenga kuko umugambi wabo uracyari wa wundi. Abahutu b'i Burundi nabo bazi neza inkunga bakomeje gutera ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi babushyigikiye bugiye mu icyicwa ry'abahutu. Ibyo ari byo byose nta gahora gahanzwe. Ababiligi bari hafi gucika muri aka karere bitaga akabo (Congo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi). Dore muri Zayire, Perezida Mobutu yarabazereye. Mu Rwanda natwe ntutukibashyamba, bazajyane n'abatutsi bitangiye kuva kera. Mu Burundi naho abahutu baribohoye, ba gashakabuhake b'ababiligi bashatse bazinga uturago amayira akigendwa. Niba ari n'ingirwa gifaransa cyabo badukangisha bazakijyane tuzavugira icy'abafaransa. Dore ko ari nacyo cy'umwimerere. Kuko sinyumvisha icyo ababiligi bagikora ino. Bamaze kutwerekana bihagije uko bateye. Ni inzoka mu zirindi! Bazage n'ahandi rirarenze...

KANGURA.

Ibikurikira page 17.

- abantu barenga miliyoni bavanwe mu byabo n'intambara bakaba barara rwantambi
- ibimuga bitagira ingano tutibagiye n'amafaranga atagira umubare amaze gushohoka kuri iyi ntamba-ra.

Ayo makuba siyo twari dukeneye ngo tubone demokarasi twaharaniye. FPR imenye ko ihemukira abanyarwanda ibeshya ko irwanirira...

Maître Mbonampeka Stanislas

nqo ushinzwe ibibazo bya politiki mu biro bya Perezida wa FPR niwe wafashe iya mbere arateshwaquzwa biratinda.

Mu nyandiko abeshya ko yandikiye i Byumba tariki ya 6 Gicurasi 1993, Simon Ntare ariha rubanda agerageza guhisha ububi bw'inyenzi. Ntamenye ko uhisha ukuri kwageraho kukagaragara. Kandi uko kuri kura zwi.

KU BYEREKEYE IBYITSO

Muri iyo nyandiko, inyenzi Simon Ntare araduhishurira ko hagati mu gihuqu cyacu hari inyenzi zihishemo. Akemeza ko izo nyenzi zidashobora kwigaragaza kubera ko abaturage bazimenye bazitsembe. Ariko nqo zirakakora. Abahakana rero ko nta byitso biri mu gihugu, si abanjye. FPR irabyiyemerera ku mugaragaro.

IKIBAZO CY'IMPUNZI

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 zaje zitwaje ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abatutsi nqo ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwa-bujije gutahuka. Amahanga yabanje kwemera icyo kinyoma. Nyamara byaje kuqaragara ko rwari urwitwazo. Impamvu nyayo yatumye FPR itera ni ugufata ubutegetsi ku nq-fu i Kigali nk'uko NRA yabufashe i Kampala. None FPR nayo irabyiyemerera ku mugaragaro dore ko Simon Ntare asobanura neza ko tutagomba kwitirirya FPR n'impunzi. Ngo ni ibintu bibiri bitandukanye. Aho....!

GUFATA UBUTEGETSI KU NGUFU

Muri iyo nyandiko, Simon Ntare abeshya ko inyenzi zitagamije gufata ubutegetsi. Ngo n'ikimenyimenyi ziyemeje gusubira mu birindiro zahoranye mbere y'itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 ubwo zashoza imirwano. Nqo ibyo byonyine birahagije kugira ngo amahanga yemere ko inyenzi zidashaka ubutegetsi ku ngufu!

Nyamara ukuri guteye gutya: inyenzi zimaze kwirukanwa mu mugu wa Ruhengeri no mu nkenge-ro zawo, mu gihe kitarenze iminsi ibiri gusa, zimaze kubona ko amahanga azamaganye kubera icyo gi-

tero, nta kundi zari kubigenza uretse gusubira aho zahoze mbere ya tariki ya 8 Gashyantare. Nta mpuhwe rero zarimo. Kandi kuba inyenzi zaremeye imishyikirano ntibisobanura ko zitagitsimbaraye ku mugambi wazo wo gufata ubutegetsi. Museveni yarabyerekanye bihagije kuburyo uwakwishinga ibinyoma by'inyenzi amateka yazabimuhani-ra.

ABAVANYWE MU BYABO N'INTAMBARA

Mu gihe amahanga akomeje kwamagana intambara inyenzi zaturashyemo, FPR yo isanga ngo ariyo nzira nyayo yo kumvikani-sha ikibazo cyayo. Mu bugome bwayo, FPR yishimira ko abaturage bakwira imishwari, bakangara ku gasozi. Kuri FPR ngo ni uguhitamo ibintu bibiri: guhunga no kwicwa.

IYICWA RY'ABATURAGE B'INZIRAKARENGANE

FPR yemera ko hafuye abantu ariko ngo nta yicwa ryabaye! Umva nawe. Uko byamere kose, iyo abantu bapfuye baba bafite uwabishe. Demokarasi duharanira izirana n'ubwo buqome. Ikiremwa muntu gifite uburenganzira budakuka bwo kubaho. Ubwo burenganzira bubuza buri wese kwica.

IGITUGU CY'INYENZI

Umuririmbyi yarihoreye ati: «Umugabo w'ukuri arangwa n'ibikorwa».

FPR nayo rero igaragarira mu byo ikora si mu magambo. Guhamya ko ngo Demokarasi yonyine ariyo yakemura ibibazo by'abanyarwanda ntibihagije. icya ngombwa ni ukubishyira mu bikorwa. FPR yagaraqaje ko «iharanira» demokarasi yica abaturage, abandi ibirukana mu byabo, ubu bakaba barara rwantam-bi.

IGITERO CYO KU ITARIKI YA 8 GASHYANTARE 1993

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 zabeshye amahanga ko zari zitagamije kwumvisha Guverinoma y'u Rwanda

ko iqamba kubaha ubuzima bw'abantu nqo ikubahiriza amasezerano yaqiranye nazo. Ibyo ntubyanze. Ariko ikitumvikana ni ukuntu wavugaga ko wubaha uburenganzira bw'umuntu bwo kubaho nawe wica abandi bantu. Aho niho FPR yari ikwiye gusobanura.

UBUTEGETSI BW'IGITUGU BWA HABYARIMANA

FPR yemeza ko n'ubwo Habyarimana yavaho, ubutegetsi bwe bwashyirahwe. Ku nyenzi, haba hahindutse umuntu gusa, ubutegetsi bukiri bwa bundi. Muri icyo gihe rero FPR ngo yakomeza intambara. Mu gihe abatavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana baba imbere mu gihu-gu bo bemeza ko Habyarimana aramutse avuyeho, hajyaho ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi. Aha rero hateye kwibaza. Niba FPR itemera ko Habyarimana avuyeho demokarasi yasugira, ni iki cyatwemeza ko (FPR) itakomeza intambara kugeza igihe ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu cyangwa se igashyiraho ubutegetsi.

FPR NI IKI ?

FPR yiyita ngo ishyamba rinini rya rubanda rikamije kubohora igihugu. Ariko icyo tuzi neza ni uko abantu bagera kuri miliyoni babaga mu makomini 8 inyenzi zafashe, bahunze FPR! Bayihunze batayireba? Izabeshye «abahindi» rero.

FPR NGO NIYO YO !

FPR yiyita «impirimbanyi» ya demokarasi. Kuri yo nqo ni ngombwa ko buri muntu yahitamo aho ajya. Ngo ibintu ni bibiri: guhitamo ubwigenge cyangwa se uqahitamo igitugu:

Nyamara FPR ishatse yamenya ko «impirimbanyi» ya demokarasi ari umuntu ukoresha inzira ya demokarasi.

«Impirimbanyi» za demokarasi rero ntabwo ari abakoresha imbunda cyangwa se ubundi buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo kwica. Nta hitamo rero rigomba kubaho.

BUYOYA ASHOBORA GUTOZA ABANDI DEMOKARASI.



Nk'uko byagiye bigenda n'ahandi, abanyafurika turacyari abana muri politiki cyane cyane iyo tuvuye ko twerekeza inzira ya demokarasi. Ni muri urwo rwego ibihugu by'ibihangange ku isi, abanyaburundi, Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika biduhatira gukurikiza inzira ya demokarasi, no kubahiriza amategeko twishyiriyeho. Aha tugasabwa no gushyiraho amategeko arengera inyungu za benshi. Ntashyirirweho kurengera inyungu z'abari ku butege*si gusa.

Iyo ibyo byose byubahirijwe nibwo usanga intwerekana z'amahanga ziza nta kibazo. Impamvu nta yindi ni uko iyo igihugu kigendera ku matwara ya demokarasi, bigoye kunyereza umutungo wacyo cyangwa kwica abo mutavugaga rumwe, kugira aho mutumvikana impunzi za politiki.....

Iyo igihugu kirangwa na demokarasi, kirasurwa cyikizerwa na benshi. Demokarasi rero igendana n'amatora adafititse yemejwe na benshi. Kandi utsinze akumva ko agombye gutegekana n'uwatsinzwe kuko bangana imbere y'amategeko.

GUTSINDWA MURI DEMOKARASI. NTA CYAHA KIRIMO:

Ahubwo icyaha ni ukutemera ko watsinzwe n'amajwi ya benshi cyangwa se wabyemera nyuma ugashyiraho imvururu ugamije kumenya amaraso. Iyo wemeye gupfa kigabo ugategereza andi matora, ugakosora muri politiki yawe icyatumye utsindwa icyo gihe uba intwari. Kandi birashoboka kuko hari n'ubwo umukuru w'igihugu amaze imyaka hafi makumyabiri abihatanira n'abandi, yatsindwa agahindura ingingo zitu-

ma atsindwa nk'uko byagiye bigenda kuri Mitterand w'u Bufaransa n'abandi benshi.

TUGARUKE KU MATORA Y'I BURUNDI

Buyoya yumvaga ko abaturage bazamwizera bakamutwara. Icyo yashyirahagaho ni amasezerano y'ubumwe bw'abarundi yumvaga ko abahutu yabacengeye kandi bayemeye. Nyamara yaje gusanga ko yibeshyaga kuko ayo masezerano n'abatutsi bene wabo yari afitiye akamaro batayashyiraga mu bikorwa. Nko kubona nta mututsi urongora umuhutukazi, mu gihe abahutu bo batungurira abatutsikazi. Ingero ni nyinshi. Kuko n'uwavugaga ko abahutu

no kubonerwa indi mirimo mu nzego mpuzamahanga. Abarundi bakamwohereza nko mu miryango ikomeye.

Bitaba ibyo agahabwa akazi ko gutoza demokarasi nk'uko n'abandi bagiyeye bagahabwa na buriya bihugu by'ibihangange ku isi. Urugero ni abari baje kumutoza kwe-mura demokarasi i Bujumbura. Kandi nabo barabaye abakuru b'ibihugu. Ibyo nibimucika abamuri inyuma bagashyiraho imvururu, bazazimwamo ari benshi kandi noneho urujinya w'abahutu uvuke. Bibuke ibyo bakorewe kuva kera maze amasaziye ye abe mabi. Abo impunzi mu gihe abandi bazaba baratashye.



tu byari bigoye kubibagiza ukuntu rimwe mu myaka itatu bicwaga n'ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi. Ibyo byose Buyoya ntiyabitekereje. Niyo kandi abitekereza nta kundi yari kubigenza kuko abazungu bari bacyifuje. Buyoya amaze gutsindwa yemeye ku mugaragaro ko atsindwe ariko abamuri inyuma kubahiriza amahame ya demokarasi. Aha umuntu yakwibaza niba ba batutsi bamenyereye guhaka bazemera kubona n'abahutu muri demokarasi. Bakumva ko demokarasi ivugaga ubutegetsi buri mu maboko ya benshi. Agize amahirwe bigashoboka ntiha-gire imvururu abatutsi bashyiraho, Buyoya yaba abaye intwari. Ntacyo yazaba ndetse n'ibyo yakoreye abahutu muri Ntega na Marangara umuntu yabyihanganira kuko nta mahoro ahora. Icyo gihe ashobora

Nagaragaze rero ubutwari yemere ibyo abafaransa bamubwirako, yime amashyamba ababirikiye basakurikira aho bari bakomeye: Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, kubera kwivanga mu bitabareba.

Aha Buyoya arasabwa gusaba abamuri inyuma bose bagacisha make, bagahabwira urwaje kuko ntawe urusimbuka rwamubonye. Maze turere ko Buyoya atazitwara intwari iruta abamubanjirije mu butegetsi bw'igitugu. Inama za Kangura nazo zizamugirira akamaro nabyitwaraho neza. Twe mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru tuzakomeza gukurikirira hafi imigendekere ya demokarasi i Bujumbura.

NGEZE Hassan.



*Ugutsinda kwa SAHWANYA-FRODEBU si ukwa ABARUNDI gusa. Ahubwo n'ukwa ABAHUTU bose b'isi.
Perezida NDADAYE Melchior.*

IBARWA NZOZI YANDIKIWE NYAKWIGENDERA MUTOMBO

NGEZE Hassan
C/O UBUZIMAKWISI
B.P. ABAHUTUBOSE
AFURIKA

Kigali, le 6/06/93

Ku nshuti yanjye MUTOMBO
Yozefu
C/O IRUHANDE RWA
RUREMA

Ku wari inshuti yanjye, kandi agapfa mu mwanya wanjye. Wowe wazize ko warengeraga abahutu bari bugarijwe maze ugasiga abana bagera ku icumi batagira kirengera. Ni wowe nkeka ko wakoreye intashima nandikiye. Ni wowe witangiye abandi bigatuma ugenda nkiukeneye, n'abo wari ushinze ku rera bataragera igihe cyo kwiha. Ni wowe nizeraga ko ufite inshuti nyinshi z'ingirakamaro kandi ari za nyamwigendaho. Nkwandikiye ngira ngo nkubaze uko umerewe iruhande rwa Gihanga wahanze u Rwanda, ariko mu gihe ngitegereje igisubizo, nje mbabajwe n'uko nyije kukugezaho inkuru idashimiye.

Inkuru nkugezaho, abo dusangiye ishyaka, ndumva iri bubabaze, ndetse bamwe ibatere ikimwari. Ndavuye cyane cyane abari mu buyobozi bukuru bwaryo. Barababara rwose kuko maze kwiboneka kenshi ko umuhutu wo muri uru Rwanda umubwira ukuri mukabipfa. Ayubusa ariko uwo mwirako uzabashiramo kuko ab'iburu ndi twababwiye ukuri bakakumva n'ab'iburu bizabageraho.

Mbere yo kuvuga uko kuri ndagira ngo mbanze ngusabe kunsabira kuri Nyagasani ngo antere inkunga yo guhora nzirikana abo wasize. Imana izampe umutima n'ububasha byo kugira icyo marira byibura abana bane. Umugisha n'abo bana sinkagononwe kuwubabazaho mu gihe cyose Imana iwunyujiye kuri nje. Ibyo nimbigeraho bizaba ari rumwe mu ngero uzi nze ko ntoza abahutu.

N'ubwo ubu utagifite umubiri nizeye neza ko roho yawe ari nzima. Kandi burya umubiri niwo utwoshya ugatuma tubabara kandi ukaturoha mu bujiji. Erekeza roho yawe kuri uru rwandiko maze nkugayire abayobozi ba CDR.

Uribuka ari hamwe muri gereza ubwo twamenyaga ko abatutsi bohereje uburozi bwo kudukuraho. icyo gihe tuba twarapfuye twembi. Nyuma y'ibyo haje gutegurwa imyigiragambyo n'abandi bifuzaga ko tuyigwamo twembi. Mu gihe utarashyirwa mu bikorwa, Perezida wa CDR adushingana muri miringi yo ku Rushashi. Byaduteye akanyabugabo twumvako n'uwapfa ishyamba ryamuzirikana. Wowe waje kugira ingorane kuko undi mugambi w'uburozi waje gufata akaba ari wo waquhitanye. Nasanze burya ka kanyabugabo kwari ukwibeshya. Uwo washyingurwaga iwawe, Komini Kanama, nta muntu n'umwe wo muri Komite ya CDR nahabonye. Nakira umurambo wawe mu mva nabyibajijeho ndumirwa. N'interahamwe zari inshuti zawe zaje kugushyingura ziturutse i Kigali zabonye itike izisubizayo ku buvumbwe.

Umuze kwitambukira, ishyamba ntirigeze risubira inyuma ngo riribeho urubwira rwawe rusigaye none ubu ameze abiri arihiritse.

Uribuka ko CDR wari urimo yashinze n'abahutu baje kukugezaho ibitekerezo by'ishyamba bikakugira ku mutima maze ukariyoboka. Byaje kukuviramo no kubeshyerwa ngo wahanuye ikizungereze gitwite mu muturirwa. Ukuri kwaje gutsinde urarusimbuka. Komite yaba yaribajije impamvu wagiye uzira ishyamba? Oya, icyo biba, ubu ibamaze gusura umuryango wasize byibura rimwe. Niba ubuyobozi bwa CDR bwigisha ibyo budakora biteye isoni. Ntaho baba bataniye na ba bahutu batanyye duhura twifuza kugarura mu buryo.



Mutombo muvandimwe mu bitekerezo, nyemerera ngusabe ikindi kintu. Ngwino muri ino minsi ya vuba, nkurote, nkubone mu nzosi. Maze muri zo umpe igisubizo cy'ibyo maze kukugezaho. Ndabikwemerereye nanjye, icyo gisubizo nzakigeza bidatinze ku zindi nshuti zawe, nkoresheje uburyo bw'ikararu.

Impuzamugambi zindi ziragutashya kandi ngo muzongera musabane. Zabuze uzitumaho ngo zihurize hamwe icyatera ingabo mu bitugu abo wasize. Uzabonekere komite yose, maze irote uyigaya. Komeza utere ubwoba abakwishe kuko ubu amaraso yawe yababujije amahwemo. Abazaryoza urupfu rwawe ubu barabagera amajanja.

Muto ! ndangije aka gaketu nkubwira ibibabaje, wakekako kuva utuvuyemo tutigeze na gato tugira agahenge? Byagutera kongera kutugirira impuhwe. Byaba ari byiza kuzitugirira ariko nanjye ndashakako kukubwira inkuru iguha umunezero. Ya ngoma y'igitugu y'iburu mbura yari irongowe na Petero Buyoya yahanutse ku masomo ya demokarasi. Akazu k'iburu karahiyeye none ubu abatutsi bazinze twa turago wasize babandi bavuye. Hirya no hino baremera uruhare KANGURA yabigizemo. Isuku ya SAHWANYA-FRODEBU yari itse abahutu barakunguka.

Mu gihe ngitegereje indoto zawe nziza, mbaye ngushimiye muvumwe.

NGEZE Hassan.

TELEGARAMU Y'ISHIMWE KANGURA YOHEREREJE NYAKUBAHWA MELCHIOR NDADAYE PEREZIDA WA REPUBULIKA Y'U BURUNDI.

Kuri Nyakubahwa Perezida wa
Repubulika y'u Burundi
Melchior NDADAYE
Bujumbura/BURUNDI.

Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida
wa Repubulika,

Ikinyamakuru KANGURA mu izina ry'abahutu bese aho bava bakagera cyanejwe cyane n'ukuntu amatara y'umukuru w'igihugu yagenze mu Burundi. Itariki ya mbere Kamena 1993 ntizibagirana mu mateka y'icyo gihugu. Uwo munsu nibwo bene wacu b'abahutu b'i Burundi bipakuruye ingoma ntutsi yabakandamije imyaka irenga magana ane.

Itariki ya mbere Kamena 1993 yibutsa abahutu bo mu Rwanda umwaka w'1959 ubwo bipakururaga ingoma ya cyami na gihake y'abatutsi. Revolisiyo ya rubanda abahutu bo mu Rwanda bakoze mu w'1959, mwe mwayikoze tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993.

Bahutu b'i Burundi bavandimwe, n'ubwo mwatinze kwipakurura inyoyi y'abatutsi, icya ngombwa ni uko icyo mwaharaniye mukigezeho. Kandi mwakigezeho. Turabibashimiye cyane. Ntimwirare kuko intambara igikomeza.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ugutsinda kwanyu niko gutsinda kw'abarundi rubanda rugufi. Amajwi mwabonye 64 ijana, yeretse amahanga ukuri ubutegetsu bw'abatutsi b'i Burundi bakomeje guhisha. Abatutsi b'i Burundi uhereye ku Bami kugeza kuri Repubulika ntutsi uko zagiye zisimburana (Micombero-Bagaza-Buyoya) bakomeje guhisha amahanga akarengane ka rubanda rugufi. Abahutu n'Abatwa b'i Burundi bagize hafi 90 ku ijana by'Abarundi bese bakomeje guhezwa mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsu, bahezwa n'agatsiko k'abantu bibwira ko aribo baremewe gutegeka. Rero ngo bavukanye imbuto. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika intambara iracyari nce-

nce nubwo bwose intambwe ya ngombwa mwayiteye tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993.

Nk'uko mwiyeje muri Porogaramu yanyu guhindura ibintu, hari byinshi koko bigomba guhinduka mu Burundi. Icyamba mbere ni uguhindura ibitekerezo. Abatutsi bakemera ko bataremewe gutegeka bonyine. Abahutu n'Abatwa nabo kandi nibo benshi, bakumva ko nabo bafite ubushobozi bwo kuyobora igihugu cyababyaye.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, muhutu mwene wacu, mufite akazi gakomeye ariko turizera ko muzabyitwaramo kigabo. Abatutsi baracyafite imyanya yose y'ubutegetsu. Mu gisirikari baracyari ijana ku ijana, uherye kuri Koloneri ukageza ku musirikari uyu usanzwe. Mu butegetsu abatutsi baracyari bo basa. Guhera ku mukozi wa Leta wo hasi ukageza kuri Gouverneur wa Province. Abahagarariye u Burundi mu mahanga baracyari abatutsi gusa. Radiyo na Televiziyo y'u Burundi bifitwe n'abatutsi ni nabo babikoraho.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, akazi kabategereje ntiko roshye. Nimwe abahutu b'i Burundi batezeho kubaho kwabo. Ni mwe muri ku isonga rya revolisiyo bakoze tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993. Ntimuzabatenguhe ! Kandi ni mu gihe murashyigikiwe.

Amajwi abahutu babahundagajeho mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika niyo bazaha ishyamba ryabo «SAHWANYA-FRODEBU» mu matora y'abadepite azaba tariki ya 29 Kamena 1993. Abantu basigaye bavugaga ko KANGURA iragura. Ntituragura bya gifumu ahubwo dusesengura ibintu uko tubibona, tukavugaga uko tubitekereza. Nibawere KANGURA izi gusesengura neza ntiyabizira.

Nyuma y'ibyabaye tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993, muri KANGURA turareba tugasanga nta kuba n'amatora y'abadepite muza-

yegukana. Ishyamba ryanyu ari naryo ry'abahutu «SAHWANYA-FRODEBU» rigomba kwegukana intamba zigera kuri 84 ku ijana. Impamvu FRODEBU igomba kwegukana amajwi angana atyo zirumvikana. Abahutu n'Abatwa b'i Burundi bagize hafi 90 ku ijana Kandi bese bagomba guha amajwi ishyamba ryabo. N'abahutu bari barigize abagambanyi nka ba François NGEZE, Adrien SIBOMANA, Nicolas MAYUGI n'abandi bashobora kwisubiraho bakagaruka mu muryango. Abahutu ntuturi abagome twabaha imbabazi.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, kugira ngo imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abarundi itsinde, habaye ah'abagabo. Mwibuke abahutu bapfuye kuva muri za mirongo itandatu kugeza magingo aya. Na mwe ubwanyu Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, muribuka neza ukuntu abatutsi babirukanye mu ishuri mu w'1972 mugahungira mu Rwanda. Bityo mugashobora gukomereza amashuri yanyu muri Groupe Scolaire i Butare ridetse na Kaminuza mukayigira mu Rwanda i Ruhanda. Nyuma mwaje no kwigisha i Save ridetse no muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. Amakuba abahutu b'i Burundi banyuzemo namwe mwanyuzemo. Kuva ku itariki ya 24 Ukwakira kugeza tariki ya 28 Uku-boza 1988 mwarafunzwe muzira ibitekerezo byanyu.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, intambara ntimwayirwanze mwenyine. Yabaye iy'abahutu bese. Ab'i Burundi babimburiwe n'ishyamba PALIPEHUTU rya Nyakwigendera Gahutu Remy waguze ku rugamba. N'abahutu bo mu Rwanda ntitwari dusinziriye. Iki nyamakuru cy'abahutu KANGURA, ijwi rigamije gukangura no kurengerwa rubanda nyamwinshi, cyaharwanye inkundura kandi kiracyakomeza. Umuyobozi wacyo, Ngeze Hassan, umuvugizi w'abahutu, yafunzwe inshuro nyinshi azira ko

FORA ! BUYOYA NA UPRONA BAZIZE IKI ?

Umucuranzi w'icyamamare Salif Keita bamubajije impamvu ataririmbira Perezida w'igihugu cye Mali, arashyamba ati: "indirimbo namuririmbya avuyeho bajyana. Nkaba ndahombye". Yabivuze hambere aha muri za 80. icyo gihe abaperezida bose bo muri Afurika basabaga abaturage bayobora kubaririmbira ibyiza birimo ubutwari, umurava no gukunda igihugu kandi atari ko bimeze. Ubu iyo ngeso iragenda ihanagurwa n'inkubiri ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi. Ariko Bwana Buyoya w'u Rwanda yemeye amashyamba menshi atsetse ibirenge, yarakomeje aririmbirwa ku nsamirizi no kuri televiziyo. Yakomeje kumva inkomashyamba zikaraga umuhogo ngo BUYOYA ni umugabo w'ubumwe n'amahoro. Ariko se izo ndirimbo tuzongere tuzumve vuba aha ?

Urundi rugero ruri buze kudufasha gusesengura itsindwa rya BUYOYA na UPRONA turaruvana kuri Musenyeri A. KAGAME, mu gisubizo cye yahaye abanyeshuri yigishaga kuri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. icyo gisubizo kimeze nk'urwenya ariko gihatse ubwenge n'ubushishozi bitari bike. Mu by'ukuri, umwe mu banyeshuri yabajije Musenyeri A. KAGAME ati: "mwaba muzi inyaga"? Ubundi inyaga ku munyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda bisobanura mbere na mbere umukobwa "utanga". Noneho bikongera bigasobanura icyo abazi ikinyarwanda bese babona kuri iryo jambo. Musenyeri rero, ibyo byose yari abizi. Nibwo, mbere yo gusubiza, abanje kwitegereza wa munyeshuri ku buryo bumucengera wese cyane cyane mu bwonko.

Noneho aramusubiza ati: "... n'umwobo wayo nawukandagijemo ikirenge". Mu yandi magambo Musenyeri A. KAGAME yari azi neza inyaga akamenya n'aho ziba. Ikindi kandi yeretse uwo munyeshuri ko yamenye aho ikinyabupfura cye kigarukiye.

Petero BUYOYA rero nawe yabajije abaturage yari ayoboye niba bazi amahoro n'ubumwe. Abibabaza hakozwe amatora. Igitugu cy'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi UPRONA aba arieyo cyerekana ko Abarundi bazi amahoro n'ubumwe. Nyamara mu mitima ya rubanda nyamwinshi harushaho kwiyandika amahoro... nako imvururu zo muri Ntega na Marangara, imvururu zo mu Gushyamba 1991, izo mvururu zose ziza ziyongera ku maraso y'Abahutu vandi banyaburundi banyaburundi.

ba BUYOYA aribo Mikayire MICOMBERO na Yohani Batista BAZAZA. Tube dutegereje kureba ukuntu abahutu baje gutanga igisubizo kirimu ubwenge.

Intambara igihugu cy'u Rwanda kirimo yatumye BUYOYA atagataga hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi. Ku mpande zombi habura abamwemera: rubanda nyamwinshi iti: "ikinamico rya nyakamwe turarizi". Abatutsi nabo bati "BUYOYA atubereye ikijujum". Akaba ariyo mpamvu umututsi Cyprien MBONIMPA n'agako ke bashatse guhirika ubutegetsi bwe ariko bikanga. Ugutagataga kwa BUYOYA kwaturutse ku gutinya intambara simuzigira impunzi z'abahutu b'abarundi zari zimaze igihe kirekire zitegura.

Ndetse hari iyapfubye mu mpera z'umwaka w'1986. icyo gihe Perezida wari uriho yari abangamiye cyane abandi ba Perezida babiri b'ibihugu by'Afurika.

Byatumye bategura imigambi ibiri: uwa mbere wari uboroheye wari uwo guhirika ubutegetsi bwe bagashyiraho undi. Uwa kabiri wari uwo gufasha impunzi z'abarundi zigahirika ubutegetsi zikoresheje intwari. Abo ba Perezida bahamagaye zimwe mu mpunzi bazigezaho uwo mugambi maze zirawemera.

Nyamara amaso yaheze mu kirere kuko nk'uko bimaze kuvugwa. ba ba Perezida bagerageje wa mugambi wari uboroheye uhita urya, impunzi baba barazibagiwe, zikaraba zityo. Ibyo byose BUYOYA arabizi kandi akanyasira bwo yibagiwe igihugu ingabo zatututsemo zije gusa kubahiriza umutekano akimara guhirikirwa ubutegetsi bwa mubyara we.

Uko biri kose bari bakwiye kumva BUYOYA kubera ko abakijije intambara. Kandi mu gihe abahutu bari gufatira ubutegetsi ku munwa w'imibunda nta cyari kubabura kwiyi-



shyurira. None uwo bitagenze uko hari agahenge. Rubanda nyamwinshi rero i Burundi itsinze mu matora, ariko iryamire amajanja. Icingire hafi inkurikizi ya "ndatsinzwe ntibura ndarenganye". Gutsinda BUYOYA rero bisobanura gutsinda umugambwe UPRONA kuko we nawe ari iri niri ! None se ko guhera mu w'1965 uwo mugambwe wica abahutu kugera magingo aya, BUYOYA akarenga akawutura ibihozo murumva hari aho bataniye ? Ahari aho muri 1998 n'azaba akiriho azongera yiyamamaze ? Ntacyo azagaruke abahutu bamusekere bamuhe urw'amenyo.

Habaye ah'umugabo n'abagabo.

Bwana M.NDADAYE niwe watsinze amatora. Byatangiye nk'aka wa mugani ugira uti: "akazica ibisiga kava iwabo wa Sakabaka". Ijambo FRODEBU ryaje kuba ishyaka rya politiki i Burundi, ryabayeho mbere y'uko politiki y'amashyaka menshi yemerwa mu Burundi. Ribaho rifite indi sura kandi ari ikintu gisa n'igishamiyeye kuri UPRONA. Muri icyo gihe NDADAYE yabonaga ko ibibazo biri mu Burundi bidashamikiye ku moko

ubwayo ko ahubwo bishamikiye yu bakire n'abanyabwenge baboneka mu bahutu n'abatutsi noneho rubanda rugufi ikabigwamo mu maherere. Mu gihe cyo kwemera amashyamba menshi FRODEBU nta kibazo yagize mu butegetsi bw'igitugu bwa BUYOYA. Uyu nguyu yaketse ko FRODEBU izakomeza kuba icyitso cya UPRONA. Nyamara ngo inda ntuyibwira icyo wayitajemo ahubwo uyibwira icyo wayirarije. Ku rundi ruhande, ikibazo cy'abanyabwenge n'abakire hagati yabo, PALIPEHUTU, rya shyamba BUYOYA azira cyane, ntiyigeze icyumvikanaho na FRODEBU. Abayobozi b'ayo mashyamba yombi bagize bahura bakungurana inama, ku buryo baje guhurira ku kintu cyo gucungura **GAHUTU**. Ibyo bitabwira ibyo, iyi nsinzi NDAYE ntiyari kuyironka. Ndetse, dukurikirana amatwara y'i Burundi, mu minsi ya nyuma yayo, Abapalipehutu bari i Burundi, kandi nibwo benshi, bari bagize ikibazo cyo gutwara NDAYE. Ariko ubutumwa bubasaba kumutwara bwabagezeho bonyuze kuri ya mipaka BUYOYA yari yafunze, bubasaba gutwara umuhutu mwene wabo. Ubutumwa bwababwiraga ko ari ama-

hirwe badakwiye kwiya mbura. Ubwo buryo bwakomeye nta matora bwishe kuko ari icengezamatwara kandi n'impunzi z'abarundi ni abarundi bagombye kumenya ibibazo by'igihugu cyabo nk'abandi.

NDADAYE naramuka ~~ashyamba~~
gutahuka kw'impunzi, ashobora guhu-
ra n'ibibazo bitari bike. **PALIPHEU-**
TU ubwayo irateganya niramuka ye-
mewe. Kuzasaba abayobuye gu-
tahuka, abasiviri bakajya mu ba-
ndi, n'intwaramuheto zayo zika-
jya mu zindi. Ingabo yari yarato-
je zigomba gushakirwa imirimo
mu ngabo z'u Burundi. Imana
izakore ibyayo icyo kibazo gike-
murwe mu mahoro.

Muri rusange, amatora ya Perezida abahutu barayatsinze, beretse BUYOYA ko bwa bumwe n'amahoro babuzi kandi bakaba barabibayemo muri Ntega na Marangara mu mwaka w'1988, bakaza no kujya kubisura i Bujumbura mu Gushyingo 1991. Ngicyo igisubizo abahutu batekerejeho kugira ngo bagisubize Majoro Peter BUYOYA ubwo yababazaga niba bemeye ubumwe n'amahoro. Waha umuntu ibyo bintu byombi koko akanga kugutora mu by'ukuri ?

Issa NYABYENDA

UBUTWARI BWA KANGURA NTIBUKIGIRWAHO IMPAKA.

KANGURA ivuka yaje ari ijwi riga-
mije kwibutsa abahutu ko bagomba
kunga ubumwe. Bakareka kumarana,
bagasubiza umututsi wari ubugarije
bakamutereka mu mwanya we. Ingo-
rane zari nyinshi mu kugera ku ntegano
zacu: amikoro make, kutumva kw'aba-
hutu... Dutangira twaje dukenewe.
Duhanura intambara abatutsi bari ba-
rateguye imyaka 30. ibyo ntibyaje ku-
duhira kuko naje kubifungirwa nsabi-
rwa igihand cy'imyaka 20 y'igifungo
nzira ko ngo navuze ko abatutsi bite-
gura kudasubiza ku ngoyi. Nyuma
y'amezi icyenda namaze mu buroko,
intambara yaje kurota. Ubwo ndare-
kurwa maze mpangana n'abatutsi bari
barigize akari aha kajya he. Dusanga ari
ngombwa ko tubatunga agatoki twe-
reka rubanda ko hari ibyitso bikiturimo
maze si ukutwijundika biratinda. Ibyi-
tso birafatwa birarekurwa maze si ugu-
kotana birasizora.

Abategetsi b'ibytso.

Ubwo naje gusubizwa mu buroko
nzira ko nerekanye abategetsi bafata-
nya n'inyenzi. Nabwo mu gihe gito
mba ndarekuwe ariko biba ari uko abo
bategetsi bose bavanywe mu myanya

yabo kuko ubugambanyi bwabo bwari bumaze kubahama.

KANGURA yaje gutatwa nka Bi-bliya.

Kubera ko abahutu bose bari bamaze kutwizera kubera ubushishozi bwacu n'ubuhanga mu gusesengura ibizaba, abatutsi nabo baje kutwijiundika maze bashinga ibinyamakuru byo kutuvuguruzwa. Biba byinshi, barohamo amakotanyi, demokrasi mu itangazamakuru iba igeze aho twifuzaga. Ikizere abahutu batugiriye, batwerekako ari twe batezeho amizero ya nyuma, ko ubwiyunge bwabo ari twe babutezeho. Nibyo byaje gutuma dutera intera ndende.

Uburwayi bw'abahutu.

Umuhutu akenshi agushyigikira akoresheje amagambo gusa. Wamusa-
ba kugutera inkunga y'amafaranga,
ubwo mukangana urunuka. icyo kiba-
zo cy'amafaranga cyaje kutugora kuko
twari dusanzwe turi ba "mikoro make".
Ukareba uko uzahangana n'abatutsi
bakize muri kano karere ukagira ubwo-
ba. Ubwo twegera umusenyeri
w'umuhutu, tumugisha inama atu-

bwira ko ukorera umuhutu atamutege-
rezaho imfashanyo. Ko ari ugukora
ukazagorerwa n'Imana yonyine. Atu-
bwira kandi ko umunyapolitiki muko-
rana agamije inyungu ze gusa. Cya-
ngwa se akagutererana. Niko bya-
ngendekeye ubwo nafungwaga
inshuro zirenze 20 muri gereza, na 35
muri za kasho za burigade. Nta munya-
politiki n'umwe wibutse ko twajyaga
dushyikirana. Naje gupfusha umwana,
yitaba Imana ndi muri gereza. Ariko nta
munyapolitiki n'umwe waranzwe mu
ishyingurwariye. Ahomfunguriwe naje
gusubira kugisha inama Musenyeri
izindi nama. Ambwira ko ubutwari bu-
boneka mu bubabare. Ubwo twasanze
tutakomeza kuvugako ko tuvugira aba-
hutu kandi i Burundi bapfa urubozo.

KANGURAn'ikibazocy'i Burundi.

Twaje kwegera Abarundi bi-
npuze baba mu Rwanda badutekere
reza akababaro kabo. Batubwira ko
n'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda ntacyo
bwakoze ngo bwumvikanishe ikibazo
cyabo. Ko ahubwo n'ugize ngo aravur-
aga arahambirizwa. Ubwo baduhuz-
a n'abarundi bandi baba hiryana no hino
ku isi tugirana imishyikirano. Batubwi-

ra ko amizero yabo bari bayateze ku bu-tegetsi bw'u Rwanda. Ko ariko byari-niranye. Baduhishurira ko n'u Rwanda narwo rwaguye mu mutego w'abatutsi bifuza kwigarurira akarere kose k'Afurika yo hagati. Izo mpunzi z'abarundi zemezaga ko n'umutegetsi w'umuhutu washakaga kumva ikibazo cyabo yahabwaga amafanga maze akicekera cyangwa agahabwa ikizungerezi. Bo mbese ntibabonaga uko bazava muri ubwo bukoloni.

KANGURA n'abahutu b'umutima.

Naje kwegera batanu, umwe w'umunyamabanki, undi uyobora iki-go cya Leta, undi w'umucuruzi (Baheza Esdras), n'undi wigeze kuba umutegetsi maze mbasaba ko twafatanye, bagafasha Kangura mu gusezerera burundu ingoma ya gitutsi yo muri Afurika yo hagati. Nibwo hashyizweho Kangura y'igifaransa "Kangura-Magazine-Version internationale, yagurishirizwaga mu bihugu byinshi by'i Burayi ahari impunzi z'Abarundi. icyo kinyamakuru gikora gihomba kuko ahanini cyoherezwaga imiryango mpuzamahanga ifasha u Burundi. icyo kinyamakuru icyo miryango yacyibone-raga ubuntu. Kuko icyo twaharaniraga kwari ugusobanura ikibazo cy'abahutu bicwa urubozo bakabura kivugira. Ibyo nabyo ntibyaje kudukira kuko na-je gufungwa inshuro 8 zose nzira ko mpungabanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ibyo ntibyanciye intege kuko abahutu b'i Burundi banyandiki-raga buri muni bakanyereka ko amize-ro yabo bayateze kuri Kangura. Ubwo Kangura ifatwa nk'umukiza. Buri mu-hutu akagura Kangura akajya gusome-ra abatazi gusoma bityo isi yose iba imenye uko abahutu bakandamijwe. Ni muri urwo rwego, Ndadaye Melchior yanyuze i Kigali aya i Burayi ya-nga gukomeza atatubwiye ko turi kumwe. Ubwo yari acumbitse muri Hotel des Mille Collines ahamagara Hitimana Noël umunyamakuru wa Kangura anamusaba ko bazana aho dukorera. Ubwo yatweretse ko adu-shyigikiye biradushimisha natwe tu-mubwira ko tutazatezuka ku ntego twiyemeje.

Buyoya aterwa ubwoba na Kangura.

Icyadushimishije ni uko Buyoya yagaragaje ko ku isi atinya Kangura. Ubwo tumenye ko ari twe atinya. Ni-bwo dusabye abahutu b'i Burundi ku-rushaho gucengeza amatwara ya Ka-ngura no mu cyaro. Buyoya avugaga ko

Kangura ifashwa n'ubutegetsi bukuru i Kigali. Ubwo arega u Rwanda kwa Mitterand, ku mwami w'Ububiligi. Kangura ayirega mu nama za CEPGL zabereye i Goma, Kinshasa, Gdadelite, Bujumbura, Gisenyi.

Ariko icyamushegeshe ni inama yabe-reye ku Gisenyi aho yaje yikoreye umu-ba wa Kangura n° 37 asaba ko inama ya CEPGL nidahagarika Kangura ko atazagaruka mu Rwanda. Ni nako bya-genze kuko Kangura itahagaritswe kandi nawe akaba atazagaruka mu na-ma ya GEPGL ari umukuru w'igihugu.

Ubwo amashyaka yari ashyamira-nye nawe yamuboneyeho maze asaba abahutu bose kunga ubumwe bagahi-rika ubutegetsi bwarangwaga n ubwi-canyi kugeza ubwo babuhiritswe.

Kangura n'amatora.

Buyoya yari yaranze gushyira ho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yibwira ko ari uguhima abahutu. Maze yihutisha amatora. Ubwo tuba twamubonye ke-ra, nibwo ducengeje mu baturage b'i Burundi ko Buyoya najya aza kwiya-mamaza bajya bamubeshya ko baza-mutura. Yamara kuhava bakababaziko ishyaka ryabo ari FRODEBU ya Nda-daye. Tubumvisha ko ibyo Buyoya ya-bakoreye abica urubozo batabyibagi-rwa. Ubwo icyo vanjiri ya Kangura yaje gukwirira mu Burundi bwose kugeza ubwo habaye amatora. Buyoya yere-kwa ko usibye abatutsi b'abanyarwa-nda bahungiyeye mu Burundi nta wundi umwifuza. Amatora araba Ndadaye Melchior n'ishyaka ry'abahutu FRO-DEBU begukana amajwi 64 ku ijana, Petero Buyoya n'ishyaka ry'abatutsi Uprona bacyura umunyu 32 ku ijana. Tukaba twibaza niba Buyoya azemera gusaza atanduranije. Benshi mu bajya-ga gutora bitwazaga ivanjiri ya Kangu-ra yabagayaranakorewe photocopies nyinshi. Nguko uko ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi bwahiritswe i Bujumbura.

Kangura yahawe impundu.

Inkuru ikimara gusesekara mu Rwanda, abahutu bakoresheje telefo-ni, fax, télex, bihuriye gushimira ubu-twari bwa Kangura maze batwerekaga ko akazi ka Kangura yakoze kazashimwa n'Imana. Batwibwirira ko nta n'uwa-bona ibihembo bya Kangura.

Icyo Kangura isabwaga.

Gukurikirira hafi ibibera i Burundi, kureba niba nta mitego abatutsi bagi-tsimbaraye ku bwicanyi bw'ino batega ubutegetsi bushya burangwa na de-mokrazi.

Gukurikirira hafi Perezida mushya kugira ngo turebe niba aharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi yo yamuhesheje uriya mwanya.

Gukomeza kurandura mu mitima y'abicanye ubwo bugome dukoresheje inzira ya demokrasi (KANGURA).

Gukomeza gushakisha icyatuma abahutu bo ku isi bavugaga rumwe. U-si-bye ko abenshi ari ibisahiranda, nya-mwigendaho.

Kumvisha abatutsi ko revolisiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959 mu Rwanda 1993 mu Burundi, ko zose zagezweho kubera amatora bikururiye akabatama-za.

Icyo Kangura isaba ubutegetsi bushya.

Kureka ubwisanzure bw'itangaza-makuru rigakorera mu mudendeko. Bi-tyo ntihabe ukwibona kwa bamwe.

Guhindura amategeko akandamiza abahutu (rubanda nyamwinshi).

Kubahiriza amategeko ubutegetsi bushya buzaba bwashyizweho kandi ari mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Icyo abafashije Kangura mu guhirika ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi basaba Ndadaye.

Kunozza umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Kuvanaho impapuro z'inzira hagati y'ibihugu byombi, gukoreshe amara-nga muntu gusa.

Korohereza ubucuruzi bwo mu nze-go zose gukorana.

Gufasha abashaka kwiga bakabiko-ra bitabagoye mu nzego zose.

Kumvisha abarundi ko abanyarwa-nda ari abavandimwe bakumva ko uwabateranyaga yakubiswe inshuro burundu.

Abayobozi ba Kangura bategerejwe i Bujumbura.

Mu gihe ubutegetsi buriho bwari bwari manye impapuro z'inzira, aba-nyamakuru ba Kangura barifuza kuba bari mu birori by'irahira rya Perezida mushya w'u Burundi, rizabera i Bu-jumbura mu minsi iri imbere. Dutege-rejwe yo n'abantu benshi bakeneye kutumenya, ari ku ruhande rwabo du-hesheje ubutegetsi nabo ku ruhande rw'abo tubwambuye. N'ubwo abata-nga impapuro z'inzira muri ambasade y'u Burundi i Kigali bakiri abatutsi gu-sa, uherye kuri ambasaderi, uko biza-genda kose tuzabibagezaho. Gusa umuyobozi wa Kangura, NGEZE Has-san arifuza ko ba bantu batanu bafa-

GUTSINDA KW'ABAHUTU B'I BURUNDI BIMARIYE IKI U RWANDA ?

Bajya baca umugani ngo "akari ku mutima gasesekara ku munwa". Abanyarwanda cyane cyane abahutu bamaze kumenya ko umuhutu mwene wabo Melchior Ndadaye yatsinze amatora barishimye cyane. Uko kwishima gufite ishingiro. Impamvu abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishimye, ni uko ariya matora y'i Burundi yabayemo ubutabera. Yatumye imbaga nyamwinshi ya rubanda rugufi yo mu Burundi ihabwa ibyo yari yaravukijwe imyaka irenga magana ane n'agatsiko ka ba nyakamwe batageze no kuri 15 ku ijana by'abatwaga bese.

Reka abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishimire gutsinda kwa Ndadaye, ni mu gihe Abatutsi bari bafite umugambi wo gutegeka aka karere ko muri Afurika y'ibiyaga bigari. Nicyo bise "Corridor Hima". Abo batutsi bari hafi kugera ku mugambi wabo. Uganda barayifite, u Burundi nabwo bwari uko. N'u Rwanda rwugarijwe n'inyenzi, Muri Zaïre nabo bari baracengeye mu butegetsi bwo hejuru ku buryo bamwe bari n'abanyarwanda ba Perezida Mobutu, nka Bisengimana wapfuye hambere aha.

Kangura ifatanije n'abahutu b'inyangamugayo yarahitambitse maze uwo mugambi ugenda uburiramo. Mu Rwanda inyenzi zakubiswe n'ikimwaro: Abahutu baracyategeka. Mu Burundi, umututsi Buyoya "yatanze imihoho" yemera icyo rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu yemeje. Muri Zaïre, abatutsi bahawe gasopo. Nibakomeza ivugonyo ryabo bazibonera. Kereze Uganda niyo ikiri mu bucakara bw'inyenzi z'impunzi. Ariko abanyarwanda nabo bazagera aho bahumuke maze bipakurure iyo ngoma hima.

Indi mpamvu yatumye abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishimira ugutsinda ku muhutu mwene wabo Ndadaye, ni uko inyenzi zitakaje indiri yazo ikomeye. Ku butegetsi by'abatutsi, u Burundi bwari indiri y'inyenzi, bwafataga umwanya wa

kabiri inyuma ya Uganda. Kuva inyenzi zagaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, u Burundi buri mu bihugu byazifashije cyane kandi ku mugaragaró. Inyenzi zajyaga kurwanirira FPR, inyinshi zavaga mu miryango y'abatutsi y'i Burundi. Amafaranga menshi inyenzi zakoresheje yavaga i Burundi. Na Guverinoma ntutsi ya Buyoya ntiya-



tanzwe muri ubwo bugambanyi ikajya igenera inyenzi amafaranga ivanye ku ngengo y'imari y'u Burundi. Inyenzi zavaga mu Rwanda zatwazwaga i Burundi, zikabona kwambukira muri Uganda. Kandi zikajyanwa na kompani y'indege y'u Burundi "Air Burundi". Kuva rero abahutu bene wacu aribo bategeka u Burundi, ibikorwa nk'ibyo turizera ko bitazongera. Ugutsinda kw'abahutu i Burundi gufiteye akamaro kanini u Rwanda. Impunzi z'abahutu b'Aburundi baba mu Rwanda ntibagira ingano. Kandi niko bafite akazi kagombaga gukorwa n'abanyarwanda. Abana b'izo mpunzi bariga mu mashuri kandi iyo myanya yagombye guhabwa abana b'abanyarwanda. Hari n'impunzi z'abarundi leta y'u

Rwanda itunze, itangaho amafaranga atagira ingano.

Abo bahutu bene wacu baramutse basubiye mu byabo i Burundi, u Rwanda rwakwiruhutsa gato. Amafaranga rwatangaga ku mpunzi z'Aburundi rwayatanga ku mpunzi zarwo zisigaye zibarirwa muri miliyoni imwe. Kuba abahutu baratsinze i Burundi ni amahoro. Intambara y'u Burundi n'u Rwanda nta gihe itari hafi kurota hakabura gato. Byose bitewe n'urwikekwe rwaranze buri gihe ibyo bihugu bihanga imbihi. Umpakanya azabaze Bagaza icyo yashakaga yimura ibyapa ku mpaka wo mu Kirundo. Azambarize Buyoya icyo yari agamije yoshya abasirikari be kurasa ku basirikari b'u Rwanda mu kwekwe Bugesera cyangwa se yohereze aho indege ze gutatira. Melchior Ndadaye aza gutsinda yatwijeje ko u Burundi butazongera gushyiraho u Rwanda ukundi. Yagize ati: "Kuva ubu, u Rwanda n'u Burundi nta urwikekwe". Ugutsinda kw'abahutu b'i Burundi niko gutsinda kw'abahutu bo mu Rwanda.

KANGURA

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shije Kangura mu guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, bazabonana na Perezida mushya maze bakamenyana kuko ibyo bihembo bihagije. Turabisabye kandi tuzabihabwaga.

Icyo abazungu batekereza.

Hari abazungu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda batubwiyeko ikivi Kangura yatangiye ikirangije. Ko Kangura yemerewe kuzigwa mu mateka y'isi cyane cyane ku bazakenera kwandika amateka y'ukuntu ingoma ntutsi yahenutse. Abana bacu baziga amateka uko yatangiye n'uko yagenze. Nguwo umwanya abanyamakuru ba Kangura bazasigira abatwazwaga bo muri aka karere. Igihembo Kangura isaba abahutu bo ku isi, ni ukuzirikana ivanjiririkiye mu nyandiko zayo. Harakabaho ubufatanye muri byose bwa rubanda nyamwinshi.

NGEZE Hassan

TUMENYE Melchior NDADAYE, UMUHUTU WA MBERE UYOBOYE U BURUNDI.

Melchior Ndadaye yavutse tariki ya 28 Werurwe 1953 ahitwa Murama, komini Nyabihanga, Province ya Muramvya. Afite umugore n'abana batatu. Melchior Ndadaye yize amashuri abanza guhera mu mwaka w'1960 kugeza mu w'1966. Kuva muri uwo mwaka kugeza mu w'1972, Melchior Ndadaye yinjijye mu ishuri ryisumbuye "Ecole Normale" ry'i Gitega. Yaje kurivamo mu mwaka w'1972, kubera icyi-cwa ry'abahutu ry'icyo gihe. Nibwo ahungiyemo mu Rwanda ari naho yarangirijye amashuri ye yisumbuye muri Groupe Scolaire y'i Butarè kuva mu mwaka w'1972 kugeza mu w'1975. Kuva mu mwaka w'1975 kugeza mu w'1980, yinjijye muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda mu ishamba rya "Sciences de l'Education", ahavana impamyabushobozi ihanitse "licence". Melchior Ndadaye afite kandi n'indi mpamyabushobozi mu byerekeye ibya banki.

Ku byerekeye akazi, Melchior Ndadaye yigishijye muri Groupe Scolaire i Save muri Butare guhera muri 1980 kugeza mu w'1982. Ari nako

atanga amashuri muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. Mu w'1984, Melchior Ndadaye yakoze mu Bitaro byo mu Kamenye. Kuva mu w'1984, kugeza mu w'1988 Melchior Ndadaye yakoze mu byerekeye ukuzigama muri koperative COOPEC. Mu mwaka w'1989, Melchior Ndadaye yabaye umujyanama mu biro bya minisitiri ushinze amajyambere y'icyaro. Kuva muri uwo mwaka kugeza atorewe kuba Perezida wa Repubulika, Melchior Ndadaye yari umukozi mukuru muri Banki yitwaga "Meridian Bank BIAO".

Muri Politiki, Melchior Ndadaye yatangiye kera. Akiga muri Kaminuza i Butarè yashinze "Mouvement des Etudiants Progressistes Burundais au Rwanda" (BAMPERE) tariki ya 3 Mutarama 1976. Iryo "shyirahamwe ry'abanyeshuri b'abarundi baba mu Rwanda" yariberereye Perezida kugeza mu w'1979. Muri Kanama 1979 Melchior Ndadaye ari mu bashinze "Ishyamba ry'abakozi bo mu Burundi" (Parti des Travailleurs du Burundi), UBU. Muri iryo shyamba yari ashinzwe itanga-

zamakuru. Melchior Ndadaye yaje kwegura muri iryo shyamba mu mwaka w'1983 asubira i Burundi tariki ya 5 Nzeri 1983.

Mu w'1988, Melchior Ndadaye yabaye Sekeretari wa mbere w'ishyirahamwe ry'abakozi b'i Burundi, "Union des Travailleurs du Burundi" mu ntara ya Gitega. Kuva tariki ya 24 Ukwakira kugeza tariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1988, Melchior Ndadaye yari mu buroko azira igitekerezo yatanze mu nama Guverineri wa Gitega yari yatumiye nyuma y'icyi-cwa ry'abahutu muri Ntega na Marangara. Tariki ya 16 Ukwakira 1991, Melchior Ndadaye wari muri komisiyo ishinze gutegura itegeko-nshinga rishya, yareguye kubera kya-bonaga ingingo zimwe na zimwe z'iryo tegeko-nshinga zarabangamiraga demokarasi mu Burundi. icyo tutakwibagirwa ni uko Melchior Ndadaye ari umwe mu bashinze ishyamba "SAHWA-NYA-FRODEBU" mu w'1986 na nubu akaba akiriyobora.

BURUNDI: AMATORA: IRYO TWAVUZE RIRATASHYE. ABAHUTU BASUBIRANYE IBYABO.

Umunyarwanda yarihoreye ati: "Nyamwanga kumva ntiyanze kubona". Abatutsi b'i Burundi twakomeje kubabwira igihe kirekire baratangira. Nta gihe tutababwiye ko ubutegetsi bari bafite ari ubwibano. Ko igihugu bategetse imyaka irenga 400 ari igihugu bihaye abahutu. Twabasabye kenshi gusubiza utw'abandi. Bagasubiza abahutu ubutegetsi babibye, bakabasubiza igihugu cyabo. Batwimye amatwi. Muri kwa kwishongora kwabo kuvanze no kutareba kure, baratananira. None dore demokarasi ibavanye ku kinyoma. Manda y'abatutsi yarangiye tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993, kandi ni burundu. Turizera ko nta mututsi uzongera kuvogera rubanda nyamwinshi y'abarundi. Ubutegetsi bu-baye noneho ubw'abaturage, bwatanze n'abaturage, bugiye gukorera abaturage. Natwe nibyo twasabaga.

Ibyabaye mu Burundi bitwerekaga ko demokarasi ariyo yonyine ishobora kurenganura abarenganye. Bibere kandi isomo abibwira ko bashobora

gupfukirana abaturage ko bidashoboka. Melchior NDADAYE yiyamamaza yibwiriye BUYOYA ko abantu we yibwira ko afite baba ari abe ku manywa, n'ijoro bakaba aba FRODEBU. Melchior NDADAYE icyo yashakaga kubwira BUYOYA n'abatutsi bo muri

UPRONA ni uko bibwiraga ko bafite abantu benshi babashyigikiye nyamara bibeshya. N'abahutu yibwiraga ko yifatiye bamweretse ko bahumutse. Burya si buno di!

Abatutsi b'i Burundi babaze nabi cyane kimwe n'umuntu wese utekere-

